The American Political Science Review

Vol. XV NOVEMBER, 1921 No. 4

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOCIOLOGY TO MODERN POLITICAL THEORY

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I. SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

The fact that a sociologist has been requested to appear upon the program of the American Political Science Association is in itself far more significant than any remarks which may be made upon the subject of the relation of sociology to political theory. It is an admission that some political scientists have at last come to consider sociology of sufficient significance to students of politics to be worthy a brief survey of its contributions to modern political theory.

Many of the more liberal and progressive political scientists will doubtless ask themselves if this is not erecting a man of straw, and will inquire if there was ever a time when political scientists were not willing to consider the doctrines of sociology. One or two brief reminders will doubtless allay this suspicion. It was only about twenty years ago that a leading New York daily is reputed to have characterized a distinguished American sociologist as "the fake professor of a pretended science." About a decade ago an ex-president of this association declared in a twice published paper that sociology was essentially worthless and unscientific and that all of its data had already been dealt with more adequately by the special social sciences. The only

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good he could see in sociology lay in some vague value in "the streams of sentiment from which the sociological fogs arise."[1] An eminent ex-president of the American Sociological Society retorted that this writer admittedly preferred "obscuration in the company of Oxford and Cambridge to unbiassed search for truth."[2] Much more recently one of the most brilliant, original and progressive of American political scientists complained that sociology has done little more than "wander around in the dim vastness of classified emotions, touching neither the substantial borders of the state on the one hand nor the equally tangible structures of commerce and industry on the other."[3]

At present, however, it will probably be conceded in most quarters that the time has arrived when the old lion, political science, may lie down in peace with the young lamb, sociology. In fact it is highly probable that most of the trouble in the beginning arose from the unseemly and awkward youthful gambols of the lamb and its somewhat preposterous threat to swallow the lion. Comte, who is conventionally regarded as the "founder" of sociology, proposed to absorb all of the special social sciences in a single unitary science of social phenomena. Herbert Spencer embodied a very thorough and comprehensive treatment of political problems, both of genesis and of structure and function, in his systematic survey of sociology. From this side of the Atlantic there appeared in the writings of Lester F. Ward an even more dithyrambic description of the lofty position of sociology:[4]

[1] Ford, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 15, pp. 96—104. The desirable historical introduction to this article is provided by my article on "Sociology before Comte," in the *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1917; and Dunning's *Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer*, pp. 345-7, 377-407. Much the best brief survey of modern sociological doctrines is to be found in Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 256–352. The most satisfactory history of sociological theory in English is L. M. Bristol, *Social Adaptation*.

[2] Small, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 15, p. 259.

[3] *New Republic*, November 17, 1917, supplement, p. 3.

[4] Ward, *Pure Sociology*, p. 91. The Dewey library classification also gave sociology a generic and comprehensive significance which few sociologists have ever had the audacity to approve, but it helped to alarm the political scientists and economists.

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"The special social sciences are the units of aggregation that organically combine to create sociology, but they lose their individuality as completely as do chemical units, and the resultant product is wholly unlike them and is of a higher order. Sociology, standing at the head of the entire series of the complex sciences is enriched by all the truths of nature and embraces all truth. It is the *scientia scientiarum.*"

Such a view of sociology was scarcely soothing or flattering to the political scientists, and it is not surprising that they prepared to resist this imminent absorption of their subject. Opposition was intensified by the fact that most political scientists were at this time generally under the spell of the political theories of Austinian jurisprudence and the Manchester school, and sociology was, though quite erroneously, popularly identified with state socialism. As sociology developed, however, it proved less of a cannibal than had been feared, and the more tolerant and synthetic of the political scientists came to see that, instead of absorbing their subject, sociology brought forward much useful data for political analysis and threw much light upon important but hitherto obscure problems in politics. Helpful coöperation is gradually replacing animosity and jealousy; the whole orientation of the newer political science has taken on a sociological cast, while sociology has derived much information of great value from the descriptive data and the refined analysis of political behavior which political science has produced.

There are a number of views regarding the nature of sociology which are supplementary rather than mutually exclusive. From one point of view it is a method of analysis of social phenomena. As Professor Hobhouse has expressed it:[5]

"General sociology is neither a separate science complete in itself before specialism begins, nor is it a mere synthesis of the social sciences consisting in a mechanical juxtaposition of their results. It is rather a vitalizing principle that runs through all social investigation, nourishing and nourished by it in turn, stimulating inquiry, correcting results, exhibiting the life of the

[5] Hobhouse, *The Sociological Review*, I (1908), p. 8. This also is the position of Durkheim.

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whole in the parts, and returning from a study of the parts with a fuller comprehension of the whole."

The unique characteristic of this sociological method of approach to the study of social and political phenomena is that it assumes in all phases of analysis the group basis of all social activities and achievements. As Professor Small has very concisely expressed this cardinal differentiating feature of sociology:[6]

"The sociological technique is that variant among the social science techniques which proceeds from the perception that, after allowing for their purely physical relations, all human phenomena are functions not only of persons, but of persons whose personality on the one hand expresses itself in part through the formation of groups, and on the other hand is in part produced through the influence of groups. In brief, sociology is that technique which approaches knowledge of human experience as a whole through investigation of group-aspects of the phenomena."

The purpose and function of this sociological approach has been well stated by Professor Giddings. "Sociology is an attempt to account for the origin, growth, structure, and activities of society by the operation of physical, vital, and psychical causes, working together in a process of evolution."[7] Utilizing as its basic equipment the accepted results of the organic, physical and psychological sciences, sociology attempts to analyze the associative mechanism as a unified whole and aims at the attainment of an adequate and accurate knowledge of the social process in its most general and fundamental aspects. One of the most vital contentions of sociology is that this generalized knowledge of social evolution and processes furnishes the indispensable basis and the only scientific common point of orientation of the special social sciences.

The relation of sociology to political science is typical of its bearing upon all or any of the special social sciences. Sociology is primarily concerned with the evolution of the political com-

[6] Small, article "Sociology," in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. 25, p. 208.

[7] Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 8.

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munity, which political science assumes as existent, and with the development and functioning of all the organs of social control, of which the state is only the most prominent among many. It is also immediately interested in the modifications effected by the organs of social control, among them the state, in the structure of society. To an even greater extent it is concerned with the struggle of contending social interests and the adjustment which they seek and secure through the political institutions of society. Political science assumes the existence of political institutions and concentrates its attention upon an analysis of the state and the mechanism of government, and is only indirectly concerned with the broader problems of social origins, structure and processes or with the reaction of the state upon society. Sociology must derive from political science its knowledge of the details of political organization and activities, while political science can only avoid becoming metaphysical by accepting as its indispensable prolegomena the sociological generalizations with respect to the underlying social foundations of law and political institutions.[8] The development of the two subjects has been closely parallel in the last half century. They took shape in a period of classification, definition and description of the form and structure of institutions and have now passed into a stage of analysis of processes.[9]

II. THE SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW OF THE NATURE OF THE STATE

Sociological interpretations of the nature of the state have, like the views on this subject held by economists, political scientists and jurists, been diverse and in some cases completely at variance. To a certain extent these differences of opinion have been correlated with the progress of society and social science. In earlier days the sociological theory of the state was associated with the individualistic view of classical economists, utilitarians

[8] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 37; *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1909, pp. 571ff. Cf. also the various articles by Dean Roscoe Pound on sociological jurisprudence. See the complete bibliography of his writings in the *Centennial History of the Harvard Law School.*

[9] Cf. Small, *General Sociology*; Beard, *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, ch. I.

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and analytical jurists, or with the more socialized conceptions which rested upon the biological analogy. Such writers as Herbert Spencer, Jacques Novicow, Gustave Le Bon and William Graham Sumner shared the interpretation of the state as the collective or communal policeman, with its functions limited to the protection of life and property from domestic assault or foreign invasion, and to the enforcement of contracts.[10] It was but a short step from the views of the more extreme members of this school, such as Novicow, to the avowedly anarchistic notions of Kropotkin with his renunciation of the state and all positive political institutions.[11]

The theory of the state which was founded upon the organic analogy, or the usual characterization of the state as the brain of the social organism, tended to confer upon the state much wider functions. Such writers as Lilienfeld, Schäffle and Worms viewed the state as the chief coördinating and directing organ of society and maintained that the more highly developed the civilization of a society the greater the desirable scope of state interference.[12] To be sure, there were some members of the biological school who either denied the identity of the state and the brain of the social organism or refused to concede that this analogy in any way justified extending the powers of the state or magnifying its position in society.[13]

A transition from the organic to the psychological school is made from two quite different points of approach by De Greef and Fouillée on the one hand, and by Gierke and Maitland on the other. De Greef and Fouillée look upon society as a "contractual organism" and view the state and political institutions as the highest manifestation of association—that in which the

[10] Cf. Spencer, *Social Statics*, and *Man Versus the State;* Novicow, *Les Luttes entre sociétés humaines;* Le Bon, *La Psychologie politique;* Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to each Other.*

[11] Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution; Anarchism, Its Philosophy and Ideal.*

[12] See their works and doctrines summarized in Coker's *Organismic Theories of the State*, pp. 115ff.

[13] Novicow maintained that the intellectual aristocracy was the real brain of the social organism, and Spencer opposed state activity.

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voluntary element is the greatest.[14] Gierke and Maitland, in direct line of theoretical descent from Althusius, hold the state to be the product of a number of corporate groups, performing the function of adjusting the relations of groups to each other and to the state. Each of these constituent groups as a corporation is not a mere fictitious legal or juristic person, but a real person—a real and vital "psychic personality."[15] From these points of view it is easy to pass to the purely psychological view of the state, according to which political obedience is held to grow out of psychological forces, and political processes are represented as chiefly psychological.[16]

An enormous advance in the sociological conception of the state appeared in the works of the Austrian sociologist, Gustav Ratzenhofer, which have been affectionately commended and interpreted to American readers by Professor Small. Instead of resting content with dogmatic statements about political policy or an elaborate description of social structure, Ratzenhofer, following the lead of Gumplowicz, attempted to penetrate beneath the surface of things and catch a glimpse of the real nature of social and political processes. In this way he came to view society as a complex of contesting interest groups seeking a realization of their aims and reaching an adjustment with the contrary aspirations of other groups. He regarded it as the function of the state to apply the necessary restraints and to impose the essential limitations upon the conflict of interests, so that it would result in progress and social justice rather than in exploitation and anarchy.[17] According to this view, then, the state appears as the "umpire" of the social process.

This conception of political processes has been elaborated in America by Mr. Bentley in his all too neglected work on the

[14] De Greef, *Introduction à la sociologie;* Fouillée, *La Science sociale contemporaine.*

[15] Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht; Die Genossenschaftstheorie;* Maitland, *Gierke's Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, introduction; *Collected Papers*, III, pp. 210ff.

[16] For names, titles and contributions of the psychological sociologists, see section X below.

[17] Ratzenhofer, *Wesen und Zweck der Politik;* Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 226ff.

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Process of Government.[18] Gumplowicz, Loria and Oppenheimer have also agreed with this conception of the nature of political processes, but have held that the adjustment of the conflicting interests always emerges in one specific manner, namely, the domination of the economically inferior majority by the economically powerful minority. According to this school of thinkers, who are by no means orthodox socialists, the economic exploitation of the majority through the possession of political sovereignty by the minority has been the essence of the political process and the real function of the state since primitive times. The state, in other words, is legalized oppression.[19]

Another method of characterizing the sociological view of the nature of the state would be to point out the two prevailing interpretations of the relation of the state to social prosperity and progress. One group, best represented by such writers as Ward, Giddings, Hobhouse and Ludwig Stein look upon the state as the supreme social institution, the indispensable prerequisite for all stability and progress, and the chief instrument for improving the condition of the human race. Professor Giddings lauds the state as "the mightiest creation of the human mind, the noblest expression of human purpose."[20] Ward, in his classic statement phrases his eulogy of the state in the following manner:[21]

"We thus see that the state, though genetic in its origin, is telic in its method; that it has but one purpose, function, or mission, that of securing the welfare of society; that its mode of operation is that of preventing the anti-social action of individuals; that in doing this it increases the freedom of human action so long as it is not anti-social; that the state is therefore essentially moral or ethical; that its own acts must necessarily be ethical:

[18] Though this work is regarded by many penetrating critics as the most notable American contribution to political theory, it is not analyzed in Professor Merriam's excellent survey of recent American political doctrines.

[19] Gumplowicz, *Der Rassenkampf; Grundriss der Sociologie;* Oppenheimer, *The State;* Loria, *The Economic Foundations of Society.* Cf. Giddings, "A Theory of History," *Political Science Quarterly,* December, 1920, p. 507.

[20] Giddings, *The Responsible State,* pp. 48ff. Cf. *Inductive Sociology,* pp. 210ff.

[21] Ward, *Pure Sociology,* p. 555.

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that being a natural product it must in a large sense be representative; that in point of fact it is always as good as society will permit it to be; that while thus far in the history of society the state has rarely performed acts that tend to advance mankind it has always been the condition to all achievement, making possible all the social, industrial, artistic, literary, and scientific activities that go on within the state and under its protection. There is no other institution with which the state may be compared, and yet, in view of all this, it is the most important of all human institutions."

Ludwig Stein finds that the principle of authority is as important for the maintenance of the race as the principle of self-preservation is for individual survival. Those who wield authority in society are the agency for the education and discipline of the social will. Civilization has never developed save as a result of the establishment of authoritative control in society.[22] Professor Hobhouse shares the point of view of Giddings, Ward and Stein, though perhaps with more reserve, qualification and discrimination.[23]

At variance with this type of interpretation, though perhaps more eager and enthusiastic in their search for some method of social improvement, are Durkheim and the administrative syndicalists, and Cole and the gild-socialists. After deploring the development of moral and social anarchy in modern society and seeking some agency for remedying the situation, Durkheim holds that the state must be supplemented by specialized and semi-autonomous administrative agencies if it is to accomplish much for social improvement. The state can legislate with intelligence only on general policies; its massive and slow moving machinery is becoming progressively less fitted to deal with the highly specialized and complex industrial activities and social relations of the present day. The state should give unity to social action by laying down general principles of policy and

[22] Stein, *La Question sociale*, pp. 122, 225ff, 269ff, 351; *Philosophische Strömungen der Gegenwart*, ch. xv.

[23] Hobhouse, *Democracy and Reaction*, p. 207; *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, pp. 186ff; *The Metaphysical Theory of the State.*

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should secure competent administration of law by handing this over to the occupational or professional groups that possess the requisite specialized knowledge and immediate interest.[24]

Cole and the gild-socialists share Durkheim's view with respect to the growing incompetence of the national state in modern industrial civilization, but would go even further in limiting its action. Conceding to the state the essentially "political" function of protecting life and property and enforcing contracts, and large legislative powers in economic matters which concern society as consumers, they deny that the state is the supreme coördinating agency in society and would restrict the state in regard to productive operations not only in the matter of administration, but also of legislation. Both legislation and administration in productive enterprise in society they would confer upon exalted and improved trade-unions.[25] The extreme supporters of *laissez-faire* among sociologists were mentioned at the opening of this section.

While there are thus real and significant differences of opinion among leading sociologists as to the nature and importance of the state, there is almost unanimous agreement among them on one fundamental problem, namely, the relation between society and the state. Sociologists are agreed that society is the more general and basic fact and term, which refers to and embraces in an inclusive manner all forms of associated life, whether that life be among animals or men. The state is a specific agency, perhaps the most important, among several fundamental types of organs or agencies utilized by society to insure that collective modes of life shall be more safe, efficient and progressive. Though its roots extend far back into the early history of mankind, the state, of modern political terminology, is a very late and recent product of social evolution, and is thus by its very origin and genesis, as well as by analysis of its present status and func-

[24] Durkheim, *De la Division du travail social* (2nd ed., 1902), preface; *Le Suicide* pp. 434ff.

[25] Cole, *Self-Government in Industry, Social Theory, Guild-Socialism.* Cf. *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1920, pp. 665–69. On the subject of pluralistic theories see Coker, *American Political Science Review*, May, 1921, pp. 186–213.

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tions, demonstrated to be a product, creation and creature of society. This is the basic point of departure for the sociological study of political problems and constitutes perhaps the most permanent and distinctive contribution of sociology to the theory of the state.

III. THE ORIGINS OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The importance of the sociological contributions to the investigation of the origins of political institutions grows out of the fact now generally conceded by all social scientists, that while society is far older than the human race, the state is a recent product of human progress. In fact, in the light of the newer historical chronology, it is but a contemporary development. Its origins, then, must be looked for within the general complex of social evolution and its genesis interpreted in the light of those basic socio-psychological forces and influences which made its appearance desirable and possible.

Following out this line of doctrine the earlier historical sociologists, and the comparative school of anthropologists, such as Spencer, Tylor, McLennan, Post, Letourneau, Kovalevsky and Morgan, worked out an elaborate scheme of the orderly, sequential and unilateral evolution of institutions. The stages of social and political development were sketched with assurance and were correlated with certain definite advances in material culture. Social organization was represented as having everywhere moved forward in a uniform manner through the stages of the unorganized endogamous horde, the exogamous maternal clan, the exogamous paternal gens, tribal feudalism and the territorial state. Democracy was believed to be correlated with inferior culture, while monarchy invariably appeared with the proximate approach to the territorial state. The most famous synthesis of this point of view was embodied in Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society*, for more than a generation the most revered and quoted among the sacred books of the historical sociologists.

While this type of historical sociology is now regarded as possessing little or no scientific value, its real significance may,

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perhaps, be passed over too lightly. While founded on a hopelessly faulty methodology and nearly invariably in error in their hypothetical synthesis of social development, this group of writers must be accorded the credit of having sketched out the problem to be solved, and of having indicated the correct avenue of approach to a study of the genesis of the state. More scientific methodology of research, and a wider range of more reliable data, have enabled a later generation to traverse the same ground with more assured results, but these pioneers created the background against which constructive criticism could later build the permanent structure of social and political genesis.

The destruction of the imposing but treacherous edifice of Morganian genetic sociology and the establishment of the science of social genesis on a firm and reliable foundation has been chiefly the work of a group of American anthropologists led by Professor Franz Boas. Following a truly inductive method, they reserved generalization until after a thorough study of concrete data had been made through personal observation. For about twenty-five years they have been working in intensive studies of local cultural areas, and now the synthesis of their results has begun to appear in such works as Boas' *Mind of Primitive Man*, Lowie's *Primitive Society*, and *Culture and Ethnology*, Wissler's *American Indian* and Goldenweiser's *Totemism*, and his recent *Early Civilization*. These writers have proved that there is no general tendency towards uniform unilateral evolution of social institutions, no succession of maternal and paternal relationship in sequential forms of social organization, no correlation of maternal organization with inferior culture or of paternal relationship with higher material civilization, or of primitive democracy with backward material culture and tribal monarchy and autocracy with more advanced civilization. Peoples appear to have developed to the threshold of the territorial or civil state through local groups with no clan or gens organization and through both maternal clans and paternal gentes. No authentic instance can be found in the whole literature of critical anthropology of the independent passage of any group through all of these stages. As Professor Lowie summar-

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izes the conclusions of these critical scholars in his truly great work, which is as much the authoritative synthesis of the newer position as Morgan's was of the old:[26]

"There is no fixed succession of maternal and paternal descent; sibless tribes may pass directly into the matrilineal or patrilineal condition; if the highest civilizations emphasize the paternal side of the family, so do many of the lowest; and the social history of a particular people cannot be reconstructed from any generally valid scheme of evolution but only in the light of its known and probable cultural relations with neighboring peoples."

Of Morgan's view that primitive social and cultural institutions are associated with democratic political institutions, Lowie caustically remarks that "it may be said categorically that even at his worst Morgan never perpetrated more palpable nonsense, and that is saying a good deal." Monarchical and aristocratic political institutions frequently occur in connection with a very primitive material culture and a kinship basis of organization.[27] Finally, Lowie shows on the basis of Schurtz's *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* that there was no sharp and final break between kinship society and the political or territorial state, nor any probability that this transition took place only in a few instances and by deliberate legal enactment, as in the case of the classic example of the legislation of Cleisthenes. The origin of the territorial state was prepared for centuries before its formal and final appearance by many and diverse types of primitive associations and special forms of group organization which united the population of a territorial aggregate into a unity for certain forms of action, many of them of a political nature, irrespective of the diversity of kinship relations.[28] The origin of the political state, then, seems rather to have been the product of a gradual development than a semi-cataclysmic transformation.

Though there was no catastrophic transition from tribal to political society, it required something more than normal peace-

[26] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 185.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 389–90.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 390–96.

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ful conditions to produce modern political society founded on rather extensive territorial units. What has now come to be regarded as the distinctive sociological theory of the origin of the state is the doctrine that the territorial state of historic times was a product of war and the forcible amalgamation of lesser groups into one larger aggregate. Hume and Adam Ferguson[29] had postulated this theory in the eighteenth century and it was revived by Herbert Spencer and Walter Bagehot. The writer who has by the thoroughness of his treatment made this subject primarily his own, is an Austrian Pole, the jurist and sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz. In his *Rassenkampf* and his *Grundriss*, Gumplowicz has sketched in detail the various stages of this process of conquest, superimposition, assimilation and amalgamation which has characterized the development of the state from the clash of primitive tribal feudal groups to the perfection of the ethnic or national state. His view of political origins has been accepted by most sociologists who have concerned themselves with this subject, most notably Ratzenhofer in Austria, Oppenheimer in Germany, Edward Jenks in England and Lester F. Ward and Albion W. Small in this country.

This conception has been bitterly attacked by Jacques Novicow, who, in his *La Critique du Darwinism social*, calls attention to the many peaceful phases of political origins and activities and insists that the state arose chiefly to regulate commerce and protect property. Kropotkin in his *Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution* has also assailed this notion and pointed out the significance of coöperation in social and political origins. Eclectic writers, particularly Professor Giddings and Professor E. C. Hayes have attempted a synthesis of these opposing points of view.[30] They agree, however, with the majority of sociologists that in the period of political origins war was the most powerful factor in the creation of the state. It is significant that all of

[29] Hume, *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*, I, pp. 113–14; II, pp. 197ff., 204; Ferguson, *A History of Civil Society*.

[30] Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 316; Hayes, *An Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 538ff.

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these various groups of writers agree that in peace or war economic factors lie at the foundation of political origins and genesis.[31]

In addition to indicating the nature of political origins sociologists have outlined in an illuminating manner the stages of political development in their relation to the general progress of civilization. Spencer's scheme divided political and social progress into three stages, the military, the industrial and the ethical, the last of which had not been attained anywhere and the second but partially.[32] Bagehot postulated an age of the development of custom, an age of the conflict of customs and the building up of nations, and a final age of political progress through discussion.[33] Giddings divides the stages of social progress into the zoögenic, the anthropogenic, the ethnogenic and the demogenic, the first of which corresponds to the prehuman stage and the last to the period of civil society. This last period he further divides into the military-religious, the liberal-legal, and the economic ethical stages.[34] There is little doubt that Giddings' classification of the stages of social and political progress is the most satisfactory achievement in this field, though we may expect in the revised edition of his *Principles of Sociology* a rewriting of much of the detailed treatment of social evolution in the light of the newer views of primitive social organization which have been worked out by Boas and his colleagues and brought together by Lowie. Other well-known classifications of political evolution are Oppenheimer's postulate of progress through the stages of the primitive feudal state, the maritime state, the developed feudal state and the constitutional state,[35] and Hobhouse's notion that political authority has in turn rested upon the principles of kinship, authority and citizenship.[36] In all of these classifications

[31] The most notable contribution to this point of view is Oppenheimer's *The State;* the most extreme view is to be found in Loria's *Economic Foundations of Society.*

[32] Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, II, pp. 569ff.

[33] Bagehot, *Physics and Politics.*

[34] Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, bk. III.

[35] Oppenheimer, *The State.*

[36] Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution* (ed. 1915), pp. 42ff.

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the significant fact is that the political progress has been correlated with and dependent upon, general social development.

The contributions of psychological sociologists to the analysis of the psychic foundations of the state and political obedience will be dealt with later and in another connection, but it may be here remarked that their work has, if anything, been more significant and original than the sociological contributions to the historical genesis of the state.[37]

IV. THE BASIC FACTORS IN THE STATE

While political scientists have long been virtually agreed that a state must embrace as essential elements population, territory, property, and sovereign power, they have done little more than assume these as metaphysical entities and, with the exception of elaborate metaphysical discussions of sovereignty, they have not proceeded to a concrete description and analysis of these fundamental factors in the state in such a way as would indicate their direct bearing upon political action or furnish any real guidance to the statesman. Here again sociology has made a modest attempt to penetrate beyond formal definition and logical assumption and relate these political elements to substantial reality.

That branch of sociology generally designated as demography has for the first time thoroughly described and classified the social population according to numbers, sex, age, property, occupation, religion, nationality, mobility and the factors involved in vital statistics. Instead of a vague and undifferentiated entity the social population has become something which is definite, classified and adapted to intelligent utilization by political scientist or governmental official. This line of work has been associated with such names as Newsholme, Bowley, Dumont, Levasseur, Hansen, Nitti, Willcox, Mayo-Smith, Wright, Durand and Bailey.[38] A more thorough investigation and a more scien-

[37] See section X below.

[38] Perhaps the first comprehensive achievement of this sort which appeared in English was Professor Richmond Mayo-Smith's two books, *Statistics and Sociology* and *Statistics and Economics*.

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tific analysis of the problems of race have also led to notable contributions to a more accurate understanding of population problems. The careful descriptive studies and classifications of races on the foundation of valid physical criteria by Ripley, Sergi, Deniker and others have revealed the hopeless mixture of races in ancient and modern times and demonstrated the essential illiteracy and scientific bankruptcy which is self-confessed on the part of any writer who would attempt a racial explanation of the political development of any European state, ancient or modern. These writers, together with Professor Boas, have shown how extremely tenuous is all evidence for the doctrine of racial superiority, and have put to rest for all time the Aryan myth and all allied vestiges of racial arrogance which have perverted history and politics from the days of Aristotle and St. Peter to Count Joseph Arthur of Gobineau and Houston Stuart Chamberlain.[39]

Differential biology has been utilized for sociological purposes by such writers as Galton, Pearson, Bateson, Ammon, Schallmayer, Jacoby, Vacher de Lapouge, Conklin, Tenney, Davenport and Keller with the aim of discovering whether or not modern political tendencies are justified by the findings of biological science. While they can scarcely be said to have arrived at any consensus of opinion, they have at least proved that the questions of democracy and aristocracy, of social strata generally, of remedial social legislation and of immigration policies all involve biological problems of the first magnitude and cannot be finally settled without an appeal to biological criteria. It might be said in passing that Ammon and Lapouge incline to a justification of aristocracy, Jacoby, Tenney and Conklin, with reservations, to a vindication of democracy, and Bateson to a defense of modified socialism. It is significant that nearly all agree that there is no biological support for a pure or egalitarian democracy and that democracy can scarcely hope to survive unless it improves in the utilization of superior capacity and in its ability to check the increase of the defective biological types

[39] See especially Ripley, *Races of Europe*, chs. VI, XVII; Boas, *Mind of Primitive Man*, ch. i. For hold-overs of the old doctrine, see Demolins, *Anglo-Saxon Superiority;* McDougall, *The Group Mind;* Wells, *Outline of History.*

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that are no longer as ruthlessly eliminated as formerly by the processes of nature.[40]

Differential psychology has revealed equally significant variations in mental capacity and has challenged in many ways the complacency of the unqualified exponents of democracy. Professor Giddings has made a provisional use of this data in his psychological classification of the population of the United States. The extensive data which has been brought forward by the recent intelligence tests administered by the United States army and now being introduced into civilian endeavor will do much to aid in this all-important problem of arriving at a scientific estimate of variations in mental capacity in the population with all the implications which this carries for political questions.[41] Finally, Professor Giddings has shown how the social population develops into a society requiring political direction and control, and has suggested a differentiation of the population into classes which are expressive of their relation to political authority. He finds that there are subjects of authority or all those who dwell within the limits of the state; makers of moral authority, or those who in any way help to shape public opinion; makers of legal authority, or those who exercise the right of suffrage; and agents of authority, or the political government.[42] These, then, are a few of the ways in which sociology has aided in giving definiteness and significance to the conception of the social population which political scientists have metaphysically assumed as a prerequisite of the state.

Sociologists working from the geographical standpoint have also given to the concept of territory some meaning and significance other than so many thousand square miles indicated on

[40] A significant contribution to this subject which reviews much of the important literature is Tenney's *Social Democracy and Population*. See also Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, chs. XVI–XX.

[41] Giddings, "A Provisional Distribution of the Population of the United States into Psychological Classes" in the *Psychological Review*, July, 1901. Cf. Sumner, *Folkways*, pp. 40ff; Lichtenberger, "The Social Significance of Mental Levels," in *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. 15; McDougall, *Is America Safe for Democracy?*

[42] Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, bk. II, ch. i; *Elements of Sociology*, pp. 201–202.

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a map by means of some distinctive chromatic characterization. That aspiration to understand the relation between political structure and processes and geographical conditions which Montesquieu expressed and which has characterized writers from Hippocrates and Aristotle to Ratzel and Huntington has now been in good part realized. The accumulation of geographical data as a result of the discoveries from the time of Marco Polo, Columbus and Chardin to Alexander Von Humboldt enabled Karl Ritter during the first half of the last century to systematize the subject of physical and human geography.[43] With the aid of the Darwinian doctrine Friedrich Ratzel was able to go further and more firmly establish the science of anthropogeography, within which he found ample space for a detailed discussion of the relation between geography and the state.[44] In France, Elisée Reclus rivalled Ratzel as a systematizer,[45] and in America Ratzel's pupil, Miss Ellen Semple, has given a faithful English rendition of her master's doctrine.[46] As Ratzel has well insisted, it is not a problem of man versus nature, but of man, society and nature evolving together through reciprocal influences.

In addition to these systematic treatises other writers have made important contributions to special phases of the general subject. Cowan and Mackinder have indicated the importance of a protective topography and the possession of strategic areas and positions. Léon Metchnikoff has sketched the significance of river basin environments for political origins and development. Le Play and Geddes have demonstrated the relation of natural geographic regions to political segregation and unity. Demolins has brought together a striking review of the bearing of routes of travel and communication on the foundation and disruption of states. Huntington has surveyed the operation of the climatic factor in both its static and dynamic aspects, and has developed

[43] See especially the introduction to his *Erdkünde*. His significant doctrines have been translated by W. L. Gage as *Ritter's Geographical Essays*.

[44] His important contributions to this specific subject are *Der Staat und sein Boden*, and *Politische Geographie*.

[45] See his *Nouvelle géographie universelle; La Terre et l'Homme*.

[46] Semple, *American History in Its Geographic Conditions; Influences of Geographic Environment*.

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an original thesis as to the relation between climatic conditions and the prosperity and decadence of political aggregates. Dexter has investigated the relation between conduct and the weather, and has indicated that a study of the barometer will allow police captains to determine when they will need their reservists. Brunhes has called attention to the fact that the concept of physical environment must be expanded to include additions and variations introduced by man, a modern city block being as much a part of the environment as an adjoining mountain peak.[47] Professor Giddings in his *Theory of Social Causation* has endeavored to relate the physical environment to the psychic factors in society and the state.

Though the part of property and economic factors in political processes has been recognized by the most significant writers on the subject of politics from Aristotle through Machiavelli, Hobbes, Harrington, Locke, and the "Fathers," such as Adams, Madison and Calhoun, to the Ricardian socialists, the vital importance of this material factor in politics was well nigh lost sight of in the last generation of metaphysical and juristic political science, and a leading American student of historical politics almost received professional ostracism for calling attention to the fact that the framers of the constitution admitted that economic factors had played a large part in the drafting of that document and in the reception accorded it.[48] Sociological writers have rendered notable service in helping to revive this point of approach which alone can give rationale to any interpretation of political activities. Commons and Loria have indicated the relation of property to the genesis and structure of government and the location of sovereign power; while Veblen has made the most notable contribution to the explanation of the manner in which economic factors react upon the other social institutions, such as politics, religion, law, education, custom and fashion.[49]

[47] A comprehensive but ill-organized survey of this literature is contained in Koller's *The Theory of Environment*. A systematic treatment by Professor J. F. Thomas is under way.

[48] Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*.

[49] Commons, "A Sociological View of Sovereignty," in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vols. 5–6. Loria, *The Economic Foundations of Society*. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class; The Vested Interests*.

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Gumplowicz and Oppenheimer have insisted that economic exploitation has furnished the motive power in political processes since the dawn of history.[50] Ratzenhofer, Small and Bentley have shown how the forwarding of the legal and pacific adjustment of contending interests is the one uniform, permanent and unique function of the state.[51]

Sociologists have undertaken to indicate the social origins and limitations of political sovereignty. While Spencer and Novicow have rejected the concept outright, most sociologists have inclined to the view that it is a valid political concept, but must be studied in its proper social setting. Professor Giddings, while admitting that sovereignty is "the dominant human power, individual or pluralistic, in a politically organized and politically independent population," denies that it is original, absolute, unlimited or universal power. It is strictly limited by social circumstances, and its modes of expression have been closely correlated with the stages of social evolution.[52] Commons and Loria have made clear the vital relation between the economic supremacy of a social class and the possession of sovereign power, and have indicated the correlation of alterations in property and economic power with shifts in the location of sovereignty. Not only have sociological writers questioned the doctrine of absolute sovereignty, they have also expressed a doubt of its unity.[53] The pluralists and gild-socialists contend that sovereignty is not only limited and relative, but is also distributed.[54]

Finally, Professor Ross has contended that political institutions and influences constitute but a part of the agencies which secure social control and enforce obedience to group rules, and has attempted to formulate the laws which govern the relative degree

[50] Gumplowicz, *Outlines of Sociology;* Oppenheimer, *The State.*

[51] Ratzenhofer, *Wesen und Zweck der Politik;* Small, *General Sociology,* pp. 193ff, 242; Bentley, *The Process of Government.*

[52] Giddings, "Sovereignty and Government," *Political Science Quarterly,* Vol. 21; *The Responsible State,* pp. 36–48.

[53] Cf. Coker, loc. cit.

[54] Cf. Laski, *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty,* ch. i; Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State;* Duguit, *Law in the Modern State; Political Science Quarterly,* Vol. 24, pp. 284–95.

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of operation of political and non-political agencies in the way of maintaining order in a community.[55] This interesting line of development has been cultivated by a long list of social psychologists who have demonstrated beyond question the fact that without the proper socio-psychological background and support, political sovereignty could not have even the most nebulous existence or any power whatever to compel obedience.[56]

V. THE FORMS OF THE STATE AND OF GOVERNMENT

While sociologists have accepted the validity of the technical distinction between the state and the government, they have regarded political activity as a unified whole and have not dwelt to any extent upon the sociological implications of this distinction. Their classifications of the forms of the state and of the government have, then, been based upon a consideration of the general type of political control in any society. The sociological writings on this subject may be divided into two types of approach, the sociological interpretation of conventional forms of classification and distinctly original sociological classifications.

Though a few writers, such as Le Bon, W.H. Mallock, Le Play, Ammon and Vacher de Lapouge incline to favor aristocracy as against democracy, most sociologists have come to accept the existence of democracy as assured for the present at least and have therefore devoted their comment to the consideration of the problems of democracy. The common point of departure for sociological discussions of democracy has been the conviction that the typical statement of the political scientists that democracy is the form of the state in which the power is in the hands of the majority or where universal suffrage prevails is but a very imperfect and incomplete characterization of this form of political organization.

A. F. Bentley has shown that the essence of all governments is the struggle of interest groups with each other, and holds

[55] Ross, *Social Control.*

[56] Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd;* Wallas, *The Great Society;* Tarde, *Les Transformations du pouvoir.* The psychological factors in the state are classified in section X below.

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that a despotism is a form of government in which group interests and antagonisms are settled by the action of an individual, an aristocracy where they are handled by the powerful few, and a democracy exists only where every interest and group can express itself and secure representation for itself in a fair and equitable manner.[57]

Lester F. Ward in a socio-historical analysis of the varieties of democracy finds three successive types: physiocracy, or the dominance of *laissez-faire* concepts; plutocracy, or the present exploitation of philosophical individualism in the interest of the corrupt vested interests; and the sociocracy of the future, when government will be utilized for the interest of the whole community and will be founded on the laws of social science.[58] Professor Giddings has held that a true democracy must embrace not only popular sovereignty and universal suffrage but a social system in which equality of legal right and of economic and social opportunity prevails.[59] This view that any democracy worth while must provide for a democratic social and economic régime is shared by most other sociologists; and Small, Cooley, Loria, Commons and Hobhouse have made important contributions in the way of elaborating this notion. Cooley has dwelt at length upon the problems of modern democracy, which, he believes, center around the difficulties encountered in putting into operation on a large scale the fundamental notions, ideals and practices of democracy which were originally developed in the small face-to-face primary groups, such as the family, neighborhood and community.[60] Other stimulating writers, chiefly Professor Maciver, Miss Follett and Professor Geddes, believe that democracy can be saved only by a reversal of present centralizing tendencies and a revival of the importance of community interests and unity in both social and political affairs.[61] Several sociologists, most notably Sumner and Hobhouse, have con-

[57] Bentley, *The Process of Government*, pp. 305ff.
[58] Ward, *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*, pp. 311ff.
[59] Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, ch. XXIV.
[60] Cooley, *Social Organization*, especially pts. I–III.
[61] Maciver, *Community, a Sociological Study;* Follett, *The New State;* Geddes, *Cities in Evolution.*

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sidered the relation of democracy to international affairs and have contended that democracy and imperialism are mutually exclusive and destructive, a position which Professor Giddings has vigorously attacked.[62]

The sociological innovations in the way of a reclassification of political systems have not been epoch-making or revolutionary, but they have pointed the way to the only significant type of classification, namely, that which will be expressive of the general social system and its relation to political affairs. Comte believed that there are but two really fundamental types of government, a theocracy, or the government by priests, and a sociocracy, or the control of political policy by sociologists.[63] Spencer believed that political institutions were shaped by the general purpose of social organization, which has been for war or industrial expansion. Therefore, the two great successive types of states have been the military and the industrial. He hazarded the hope that an ethical type of social and political organization might ultimately appear.[64] Bagehot believed that there were two vital forms of political organization, one based on rigidity of custom and authoritative dominion and the other founded on free discussion and representative institutions.[65] Ratzenhofer and Small have argued that there have been two chief types of states, the early authoritarian conquest-state and its gradual development into a more democratic and progressive culture-state.[66] Tarde, looking at the question from a psychological point of view, has maintained that the two possible forms of political institutions are a teleocracy, or the sovereignty of desires, and an ideocracy, or the dominion of ideas.[67] Ross has held with vigor the doctrine that the location of the dominant social power is the only real criterion of political authority and has classified the various régimes which are indicative of the dominating forces in society.[68] In his

[62] Cf. Hobhouse, *Democracy and Reaction;* Giddings, *Democracy and Empire.*
[63] Comte, *Principles of a Positive Polity,* III, p. 326.
[64] Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology,* II, pp. 568ff.
[65] Bagehot, *Physics and Politics.*
[66] Small, *General Sociology,* pp. 193ff.
[67] Tarde, *Les Transformations du pouvoir,* pp. 212–13.
[68] Ross, *Social Control.* p. 79.

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Historical and Descriptive Sociology Professor Giddings has made an even more ambitious effort to classify the different types of societies in a manner which will express both their general psychic characteristics and the form of social bond and public policy which prevails in each. He differentiates some eight such types—sympathetic, congenial, approbational, despotic, authoritative, conspiritual, contractual and idealistic.

VI. THE PROCESSES AND MECHANISM OF GOVERNMENT

While sociological writers have devoted considerable attention to the problems of the processes and mechanism of government, as, for example, Tarde's attack on Montesquieu's theory of the division of powers and Ward's argument for executive leadership in the legislature, the really significant contributions that they have made to this phase of politics lie in three main departments; the essence of the governmental process, the nature and tendencies of political parties, and the necessity of finding some way for decentralizing the top-heavy and over-grown national state of the present day.

In dealing with the important problem of the real essence of government the sociologists have in most cases abandoned as an adequate description the pious abstraction that government "exists for the good of the governed" or for the advancement of the Christian virtues in the community, and have sought to discover the real nature of the "process of government." In doing so they have gone back to the position first established by Aristotle, elaborated by Althusius, and revived in more recent times by John Adams, Madison and Calhoun in this country, and by Hall and the Ricardian socialists in Great Britain: namely, that society is a complex of groups each of which is given coherence and energy through the possession of a common interest or set of interests.[69] The state exists to furnish the necessary restraint for this conflict of interests and to insure that it will be a bene-

[69] For the most elaborate formal treatment of the type, structure and persistence of social groups, which Professors Small and Ellwood have well called "social geometry," see Simmel, *Soziologie, Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*.

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ficial rather than a destructive process. Government is the agency or avenue through which these groups carry on the public phases of their conflict and realize their objects, or effect a temporarily satisfactory adjustment of their aims with the opposing aspirations of other groups. Log-rolling, accordingly, instead of representing a degenerate and depraved mode of political activity becomes the typical and essential political process and legislative procedure. This conception of the essence of the governmental function and process in its sociological form was first thoroughly worked out by Ludwig Gumplowicz. It was taken up in Europe by Ratzenhofer, Oppenheimer, Loria and a number of brilliant French and Belgian sociologists and jurists, and was brought into this country by Professor Small. In a modified form it was accepted by Gierke in Germany, by Durkheim in France, and Maitland and Figgis in England. But the most thorough and comprehensive exposition of this cardinal contribution of sociology to politics has been the work of Mr. A. F. Bentley in his treatise on *The Process of Government*.

This view of the nature of government has led immediately to the consideration of the problem of representative government and the desirable type of representative units. As might be expected, there are few sociologists among those who have given any special attention to the subject who can find courage to defend the present illogical, anachronistic and artificial method of representation through territorial units, which is based upon the preposterous political and psychological fallacy that there is a general community or district sentiment apart from the interests of the various classes and groups which can be isolated and represented in government. Sociologists have demonstrated the fact that even under territorial representation the basic interest groups seek, and in various indirect and subterranean ways obtain that representation which is denied to them in a direct and open form. Indeed, most sociologists, in common with progressive political scientists, agree that if the adjustment of group interests is the essence of government, representative institutions must have their form and mechanisms brought into harmony with the real purpose and function of government. It scarcely

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needs to be mentioned that the psychological sociologists have long since laid at rest the Rousseauean dogma of the "general will" and the fractional distribution of sovereign power among the citizens of a state, upon which territorial representation was based and by which it was justified.[70] About the only sociologist of constructive or liberal tendencies recently to defend territorial representation against vocationalism is Mr. Graham Wallas. In his *Our Social Heritage* he mantains that vocationalism would produce group selfishness, conservatism, the rule of mediocrity, inefficiency in the accumulation of socially necessary capital, and the loss of national patriotism and coöperative activity. But even he admits that the solution of the problem of representative government will lie in a compromise between vocationalism and territorial representation.

These views concerning the essence of governmental activity and the real basis of representative government are intimately related to what may be regarded as the sociological doctrine of political parties. Sociologists who have devoted much time to this problem are practically united in the belief that a political party is in reality an interest group or a coalition of interest groups which have more common than divergent objects, and find it advantageous to present a unified front against other combinations of opposed interest groups. The party organization itself tends to become an interest group which seeks the prestige and financial rewards which flow from party loyalty and success. While there is a considerable amount of group selfishness and wasted energy through counter efforts, sociologists are inclined to believe that the contention of these interest groups is the chief dynamic and progressive factor in political life.[71]

Beyond this illuminating identification of parties with interest groups sociologists have investigated the very important question

[70] Cf. De Greef, *La Constituante et le régime representatif;* Durkheim, *De la Division du travail social* (2nd ed.), preface; *Le Suicide*, pp. 434ff.; Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics; The Great Society;* McDougall, *The Group Mind;* Cooley, *Social Organization.*

[71] See the works of Gumplowicz, Oppenheimer, Ratzenhofer, Small and Bentley referred to above; also Ward, "The Sociology of Political Parties," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1908.

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of the development of oligarchical tendencies in political parties, which is one of the most threatening phases of modern democracy and perhaps its gravest defect. The psychological sociologists such as Le Bon, Sighele and Ross have suggested that this may be due to the prevalence of crowds and crowd psychological conditions in modern urban civilization, a situation which gives the unscrupulous leader or manipulator of crowds an unparalleled opportunity to exploit their weaknesses and instability.[72]

Graham Wallas has indicated the manner in which party leaders are able to make an emotional appeal to the citizens through party symbols and shibboleths and thus reduce to a nullity the critical capacity of the voters and make them easy victims of the party organization.[73] Professor Giddings believes that oligarchy in party politics is but one aspect of the operation of the sociological law that "the few always dominate." This is as true in other phases of political and social life as it is in partisan politics. Through differential reaction to stimulation, which is due to differences in individual capacity and opportunity, the alert and energetic few invariably dominate all situations and the oligarchical tendencies in political parties are but one manifestation of a universal social tendency.[74] Of course, few sociologists are naïve enough to imagine that the ostensible political bosses represent the real power in modern parties. They recognize what Bryce, Ostrogorski, Sumner, Weyl and others have pointed out, that the real power resides in the great economic interests, whose puppets and servants are the political bosses. This important fact constitutes the final answer to critics of American democracy who condemn it as the rule of the ignorant and propertyless classes.

All of these various contributions to the subject of the autocratic nature of parties have been brought together by Professor Robert Michels in what is unquestionably the most signal sociological contribution to the analysis of political parties. He

[72] See especially, Le Bon, *The Crowd.*

[73] Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics.*

[74] Giddings, *The Responsible State,* pp. 18ff.; *American Journal of Sociology,* March, 1920, pp. 539ff.

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makes it clear how democracy requires organization for representation and government, how organization makes necessary leadership, how leaders are able to utilize the crowd psychological conditions that prevail in modern society and political life for their own interest and advancement, and how leadership and authority tend to develop arrogance, impatience of restraint and a lack of a sense of responsibility on the part of leaders.[75]

The remaining contributions of some significance which sociologists have made to the problem of political procedure are related to the matter of providing for some rational and effective method of decentralizing the overburdened and dangerously artificial national state. There are, to be sure, some sociologists who favor the growing tendency towards centralization in large political aggregates and who would even advocate further extension,[76] but most of them agree that the present large national states were the product of dynastic ambitions in a past age when the duties of the state and the problems which confront political agencies were much less numerous and complex than those which have followed the industrial revolution and its reaction upon society and politics. They feel that the large national state is both incompetent to deal with such a variety of problems in any detail and unable to arouse the necessary interest on the part of the citizens in political affairs. While admitting the necessity of preserving the unity of states for matters of international relations and for securing a common policy on matters which affect the whole population in much the same way, these writers contend that some method must be found which will secure specialized skill in administration and legislation and arouse a keen interest on the part of the citizens in public affairs.

One method of securing this result has been proposed by Durkheim and constitutes the sociological avenue to administrative syndicalism. He would have the state lay down general policies in legislation and then hand over the detailed application in special cases to syndicates of employers and employees.[77] The

[75] Michels, *Political Parties; a Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Political Parties.*

[76] For example, Tarde, Giddings and Ludwig Stein.

[77] Durkheim, *De la Division du travail social* (2nd ed.), preface.

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gild-socialists would go even further and restrict state legislation to matters concerning the interests of consumers. Producers organized in improved trade-unions would be given practical administrative and legislative autonomy.[78] Another group of thinkers would solve the problem by territorial decentralization and the centering of political life around the natural community or the geographically unified region. Those who lay most stress on the importance of group or community believe that only by making the community the basis of social and political reconstruction can morale and efficiency be insured in political life.[79] The regionalists hold similar doctrines, but lay more stress upon the geographical factors determining the limits of the natural social and political units and less upon a community of interest.[80] Both groups would provide for unity in general policy and for protection from invasion through an improved type of federalism. Finally, the Italian sociologist and jurist, Vaccaro, believes that the future is bound to witness a process of political devolution and the development of small states adjusted to natural regional advantages and to administrative convenience. The large national states were a product of the necessity of finding some manner of avoiding war, but with the gradual elimination of war the very advantages of small states in times of peace will force a return to more natural and organic political units.[81]

VII. SOCIOLOGICAL OPINION ON LIBERTY AND RIGHTS

Sociologists have given little attention to the age-long question of the problem of whether or not authority is essential to liberty. In fact, most of them dismiss the question as scholastic and hold that it is self-evident that under any known condi-

[78] Cole, *Social Theory; Guild Socialism.*

[79] For example, R. M. Maciver and M. P. Follett. Both of these writers, of course, make common interest rather than geographical proximity the real test of community. For the most thorough sociological discussion of the distinction between society, state and community see Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft.*

[80] Geddes, *Cities in Evolution;* Geddes and Branford, *The Coming Polity;* Brun, *Le Régionalisme.*

[81] Vaccaro, *Les Bases sociologiques du droit et de l'état,* pp. 472ff.

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tions of associated life some type of authority is essential to liberty if not to existence.[82] Only a negligible minority with essentially anarchistic leanings, such as Kropotkin, have denied this. Yet sociologists have done a useful service in setting forth the social foundations of liberty and in indicating the conditions under which liberal institutions are possible. In the first place, they make it clear that liberty is not primarily a political matter. Politics have nearly as little relation to human conduct as religion. Probably nine-tenths of the impulses to action and the inhibitions of the average citizen come from social and psychological influences and forces which are not even indirectly political.[83]

Confining themselves more specificially to the problem of political liberty, the sociologists have emphasized the fact that liberty and liberal institutions are not matters which may be deliberately willed by statesmen and put into operation without reference to the social environment. They have shown that a large degree of liberty is possible only in those communities or societies where there is a large amount of like-mindedness and cultural similarity, and where gross inequalities of culture, wealth and opportunity are relatively absent.[84] Further, states which are usually capable of allowing and enjoying a considerable degree of liberty in normal times may find it necessary in times of stress and danger, such as war or famine, to curtail greatly the normal amount of individual freedom of action. Liberty, both in its normal manifestations and in its temporary fluctuations, is a function or product of "circumstantial pressure" coming from the social environment.[85] Further, sociologists have recognized that it is unscientific, if not futile, to talk about some vague generalized liberty. There are many types of liberty, all of which must be provided for in a truly liberal state, as for example, civil liberty, economic liberty, religious liberty, personal liberty and

[82] Cf. Stein, *Philosophische Strömungen der Gegenwart*, ch. xv.

[83] Cf. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd;* Ross, *Social Psychology;* and, above all, Sumner, *Folkways*.

[84] Giddings, *Inductive Sociology*, pp. 225ff; Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 411ff.

[85] Giddings, "Pluralistic Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, January and March, 1920.

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so on. Professor Hobhouse, in particular, has attempted to classify and define the various types of liberty and to give greater precision to this line of discussion.[86] The most significant recent sociological contribution to the doctrine of liberty is contained in Wallas' *Our Social Heritage*. He makes it clear that any socialized theory of liberty must provide, not only for the removal of all obstructions in the way of using one's faculties, but also for the conscious and organized will to use them. Liberty is, thus, a positive as well as a negative concept. On these grounds Wallas finds that the Periclean notion of liberty is far more helpful than the negative definitions of John Stuart Mill and Sidney Webb.

The sociological view of political rights is that they are those "rules of the game" in the social process which are accepted and applied by the community through constitutional or statutory law. But by far the most significant contribution which sociologists have made to the subject of political rights is to rejuvenate the doctrine of natural rights, divest them of their metaphysical origins and implications, and give them an essentially evolutionary restatement. They reject completely the notion that the natural is identical with the primitive and that natural rights are those liberties and immunities which man has brought over with him from the primitive age into political life. Rather, what is natural is that which seems to be in harmony with the essential conditions of existence and development as revealed by the evolutionary process. Natural rights, then, are those types of individual immunity and freedom which seem on the basis of the observation of the process of social evolution to be most conducive to the most effective functioning and the most rapid development of the social organism. As such they are the indispensable foundation and guide for all moral and legal rights.[87] Professor Giddings has concisely summarized this sociological view of the nature and importance of "natural rights:"[88]

[86] Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, especially ch. II.

[87] Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 418–19; *The Responsible State*, pp. 59–68; Hobhouse, *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, pp. 196–200; Cooley *Social Organization*, pp. 46–48.

[88] Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 418. This doctrine is, of course, destructive of that theory of natural rights which has flourished in the chambers of the United States Supreme Court.

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"Natural rights, as the term was once understood, have gone to the limbo of outworn creeds; not so those natural norms of positive right that sociology is just beginning to disclose. Legal rights are rights sanctioned by the law-making power; moral rights are rules of right sanctioned by the conscience of the community; natural rights are socially necessary norms of right, enforced by natural selection in the sphere of social relations; and in the long run there can be neither legal nor moral rights that are not grounded in natural rights as thus defined." Professor Giddings also insists that from the sociological point of view natural rights cannot be monopolized by the individual; the community can claim natural rights as well:[89]

"Natural rights are of two categories. There are natural rights of the community, and natural rights of the individual. Both the community and the individual have a natural right to exist and a natural right to grow or develop.

"If mankind or any moiety of mankind has a moral right to exist, a community or society has such a right because it is only through mutual aid that human life is possible, and only through social relationships that the intellectual and the moral life of man can be sustained."

It is this doctrine of the natural rights of the community, or the conception of social interests, which has greatly influenced progressive sociological jurisprudence.[90] Moreover, as Mr. Wallas has insisted in his most recent work, it is necessary to adopt a dynamic theory of natural rights. Evolutionary products are rarely permanent and transcendental. Natural rights, that is, socially necessary rights, must vary in their content with changes in general social conditions and institutions. Rights which may have been socially "natural" in a primitive community may have ceased to be such at the present time. Natural rights, then, are a product of social needs and interests, and must necessarily vary in their character with the progress of the social order.

[89] Giddings, *The Responsible State*, p. 65. Graham Wallas has also emphasized this point of view in *Our Social Heritage*, Ch. viii.

[90] Cf. Pound, "A Theory of Social Interests," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. 15, (1920).

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VIII. THE SCOPE OF STATE ACTIVITY

The sociologists have devoted considerable attention to an attempt to discover an adequate definition of progress. Comte looked upon it as a gradual triumph of the scientific outlook over the theological and the metaphysical. Spencer and Bagehot both viewed it as the more perfect adjustment of the organism to the environment. Lester F. Ward regarded it as essentially the increase of human happiness through the overcoming of ignorance and error. Giddings has stated his belief that the essence of progress is the amelioration of the biological conflict between individual interest and race interest. Ratzenhofer and Small hold that it consists in the gradual substitution of coöperation for conflict. Hobhouse believes that it consists in the development of harmonious relations in society and the more perfect development of coöperative activity. Professor Tenney looks upon progress as a substitution of integral for partial satisfaction in the standard of life. Professor Cooley has recently made a plea for a tentative theory of progress.[91]

Much more important than these representative formulations of the idea of progress have been the sociological conceptions of the manner in which progress is achieved and the relation of the state to this process. The earlier sociologists, under the spell of the Darwinian doctrine and the belief in the inheritance of acquired characters, and impelled at every turn to apply it by direct analogy to human society, were inclined to believe that progress was a spontaneous and inevitable product of natural processes working in an evolutionary manner. Human effort could not hasten the process, but might fatally retard or divert the movement. Hence, Darwinian biology plus the biological analogy applied to human society served to bolster up a doctrine of political quietism and individualism in much the same way

[91] Professor A. J. Todd has produced a comprehensive compilation of the various notions of social progress. See his *Theories of Social Progress*. Professor A. A. Tenney has been working for some time on a plan to present an objective estimate and measurement of progress. Gumplowicz and Le Bon differ from most sociologists in denying that there is any definitive verifiable progress.

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that the appropriation of Newtonian mechanics for social philosophy a century earlier provided a pseudo-scientific foundation for the individualistic political philosophy of the physiocrats and the classical economists. The most forceful exponents of this point of view among sociologists were the Englishman, Herbert Spencer, the Russian, Jacques Novicow, the Austrian, Ludwig Gumplowicz, and the American, William Graham Sumner.[92]

More recently, however, sociologists have inclined to the view that "the theory of continuous automatic inevitable progress is impossible," or that, if possible, it is a slow and expensive matter as compared with the acceleration and direction of the process by the conscious control of the human mind. They believe that though the evolutionary process in society has been, down to the present, a genetic and spontaneous development, the time has now arrived or is fast approaching when social science will enable the human mind to take conscious charge of the developmental process and insure more rapid and certain progress with a minimum of social cost. This transition from the domination of natural genesis to social telesis they view as the real turning-point in the evolution of humanity. While this notion was clearly expressed in a somewhat erratic and fantastic manner by the French Utopian socialist, Charles Fourier, and implicity accepted in the social philosophy of Comte, it was an American sociologist, Lester F. Ward, who made this the pivotal point in what is perhaps the most imposing body of sociological doctrine which has yet appeared. More recently it has been defended with equal vigor by the English sociologists, Hobhouse and Wallas.[93] It is, of course, the point of departure for all scientific social economy and is one of the two or three epoch-making contributions of sociology to political theory and practice.

[92] Spencer, *First Principles*, pt. II; *The Study of Sociology;* Novicow, *Les Luttes entre sociétés humaines;* Sumner, "The Absurd Attempt to Make the World Over," *War and Other Essays*, pp. 195–210; Gumplowicz, *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 207. While a believer in spontaneous development, Gumplowicz inclined to the view of cycles rather than progress in history.

[93] Ward, *Pure Sociology*, pp. 463ff., 551, 573–75; Hobhouse, *Development and Purpose; Social Evolution and Political Theory*, ch. VII; Wallas, *Our Social Heritage.*

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The attitude of sociologists with respect to the nature of progress has colored if not wholly determined their stand with respect to the scope of state activity. Believers in automatic evolution, such as Spencer, Novicow, Gumplowicz and Sumner, have counselled a policy of complete *laissez faire*. Holding that laws only create new problems, while failing utterly to remedy the situation at which they are aimed, Spencer would limit the state solely to the function of protecting the life and property of citizens and repelling invasion.[94] Novicow bitterly criticized the incompetence of the state in all phases of activity, save that of serving as the communal policeman, and his views on the proper scope of state interference coincided with those of Spencer.[95] Gumplowicz, maintaining that social institutions are the product of "blind natural laws," holds that the chief practical value of sociology is the discouragement of any attempt to hasten or alter social development through legislation.[96] Sumner contended that no social class had any moral obligation to protect the interests of any other class, that social legislation only tended to crush and eliminate the healthy middle class of "forgotten-men" in order to conserve and increase the class of defectives, and that the sociologist's message to the class of reformers or "ignorant social doctors" was "mind your own business!"[97] The *laissez-faire* position has also been defended from the standpoint of obscurantism and aristocracy by W. H. Mallock, Gustave Le Bon and Frederic Le Play.[98]

On the other hand, Lester F. Ward vigorously criticizes as "Misarchists" and obstructionists such writers as Spencer and Sumner and defends the entry of the state upon an ambitious program of social legislation, but he strongly contends that before any such attempt will be either scientific or feasible government

[94] Spencer, *Social Statics; Man versus the State; Principles of Ethics*, pt. IV; *Study of Sociology*, pp. 270–71.

[95] Novicow, *Les Luttes entre sociétés humaines*, pp. 277, 335, 341, 355, 494, 604.

[96] Gumplowicz, *Socialphilosophie im Umriss*, pp. 77–90.

[97] Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other.*

[98] Mallock, *Aristocracy and Evolution; The Limits of Socialism;* Le Bon, *La Psychologie politique;* Le Play, *L'Organisation de la famille; La Constitution essentielle de l'humanité.*

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must be reorganized in such a manner as to give social scientists a controlling position in advising and shaping such legislation. Ward is, then, as little of an exponent of indiscriminate social legislation by the present incompetent political agencies as was Spencer or Sumner.[99] Essentially the same attitude has been taken by Hobhouse, Ludwig Stein, Schäffle and Duprat.[100]

While the position taken by the majority of sociologists thirty years ago was more sympathetic with the views of Spencer than those of Ward, the tendency since that time has been to swing to Ward's point of view. Most sociologists are, however, careful to indicate that they are taking an eclectic rather than a dogmatic position in doing so. As Professor Giddings has expressed this reservation, "the worst mistake that political philosophers have made has been their unqualified approval or condemnation of *laissez faire*."[101] Professor Cooley also contends that "we must, of course, take the relative point of view and hold that the sphere of government is not, and should not be fixed, but varies with the social condition at large. Hard-and-fast theories of what the state may best be and do we may well regard with distrust."[102]

Sociologists further maintain that the only criterion for deciding as to the validity of any proposed social legislation is the facts in the case, carefully gathered and critically presented through refined statistical methods, thus sharing the view of the German historical economists and W. Stanley Jevons.[103] An important addition to the theory of state activity is embodied in the above-

[99] Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*, II, pp. 212–50; *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 187–89; *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, pp. 309–12; *Pure Sociology*, pp. 568–69. Cf. Dealey, "Eudemics, a Science of National Welfare," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. 15, 1920.

[100] Hobhouse, *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, chs. VIII-IX; Stein, *La Question sociale*, pp. 122, 267ff., 281ff., 314; Schäffle, *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers*, II, pp. 427ff.; *The Quintessence of Socialism;* Duprat, *Morals; a Treatise on the Psycho-Sociological Basis of Ethics*, pp. 204ff., 256ff., 274ff.

[101] Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 353. In later years and especially since the World War, Professor Giddings has moved further forwards a eulogy of state-activity.

[102] Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 403. Cf. Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 624.

[103] Ward, *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, II, pp. 168–71.

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mentioned proposal of Durkheim to hand over the specific application and administration of law to functional or occupational associations. It has frequently been asserted that though a greater degree of state activity might be required to deal with the complex problems of modern society, yet the administrative machinery of the over-centralized national state would be inadequate for the task. Such a proposition as that which Durkheim suggests would give large scope to state activity and secure unified policy, and yet would make possible specialized and competent administration.[104] In an important way this view furnishes the sociological foundation for administrative syndicalism.[105]

IX. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Sociologists have devoted no little attention to the problems of nationality and international organization. The now popular doctrine that nationality is a cultural rather than a political concept, which is associated especially with the writings of A. E. Zimmern, was set forth with clarity and vigor by Novicow thirty years ago.[106] Gumplowicz developed much of his sociological and juristic doctrine from an observation of the problems and difficulties involved in maintaining one political authority over the diverse national groups within the old Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy.[107] An extremely important contribution to a significant phase of this subject has been made by the eminent Belgian sociologist, Guillaume De Greef, in his notion of the necessity of adopting a sociological point of view in dealing with frontiers. He insists that the notion of a fixed and definite political boundary, or even a "natural" geographical frontier is essentially fallacious. The only true boundaries or frontiers are the continually changing lines which express in a rough geographical and political way the resultant of the pressure exerted by social groups. It is utterly hopeless to expect to lay

[104] Durkheim, *De la Division du travail social* (2nd ed.), preface.

[105] See Laski, *Authority in the Modern State*, ch. v, for a good review of administrative syndicalism.

[106] Novicow, *Les Luttes entre sociétés humaines*, pp. 125ff., 239ff., 345.

[107] Gumplowicz, *Der Rassenkampf; Das Osterreichische Staatsrecht.*

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out even approximately permanent boundary lines which will mark off the territories inhabited by distinct ethnic groups. Differences in social pressure, which are indicative of differences in birth-rate, economic prosperity, group-coherence and so on, will soon serve to nullify any such attempt.[108] Finally, sociologists, especially such American writers as Commons, Ross and Fairchild, have investigated the matter of the admixture of national groups through immigration, and have concluded that it is highly detrimental to the well-being of a state if it goes on more rapidly than the process of assimilation.[109]

The majority of sociologists are inclined to hold that in spite of all the misery entailed by the accompanying warfare the development of the great national territorial states was an essential and beneficial process in order to reduce the possibility of war and conflict and to furnish the proper discipline in group life on a large scale.[110] Yet there are wide differences of opinion as to the morality and desirability of political expansion and imperialism among sociologists. Gumplowicz has contended, in much the same vein as Machiavelli, that a state must continue a policy of aggressive territorial expansion or face inevitable decline or extinction.[111] Professor Giddings has defended modern imperialism in a sociological version of "the white man's burden."[112] On the other hand, Novicow and Nicolai have almost savagely attacked the views of Gumplowicz, Treitschke and the exponents of the so-called "social Darwinism,"[113] and Sumner and Hobhouse have contended with vigor that imperialism and democracy cannot be reconciled.[114]

A great majority of the sociologists are agreed that the sovereign national state cannot be regarded as the final stage in

[108] De Greef, *Structure generale des sociétés.* Cf. *Political Science Quarterly*, Sept. 1910, pp. 505–8; and *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 10, pp. 64.

[109] Cf. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America;* Ross, *The Old World in the New;* Fairchild, *Immigration.*

[110] Tarde, *Les Transformations du pouvoir*, p. 175.

[111] Gumplowicz, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 150–53.

[112] Giddings, *Democracy and Empire*, especially chs. I, XVII.

[113] Novicow, *La Critique du Darwinism social;* Nicolai, *The Biology of War*

[114] Cf. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, p. 68; *Question of War and Peace.* Sumner, *War and Other Essays.*

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political evolution. Some form of international organization must be found which will eliminate national wars in a manner similar to that in which the national state has ended neighborhood and sectional wars. Novicow has proposed a federation of European states,[115] but, while most writers look upon federalism as the ultimate solution of the problem, they incline to doubt whether so close a form of union is feasible at the present time. They feel that any international organization which will not invite immediate disintegration and disruption must take as a nucleus a group of states with a considerable degree of homogeneity of culture and interests. Political likemindedness, as Professor Tenney has reminded us, cannot well proceed from cultural diversity and economic rivalry. Professor Giddings has put this point very succintly.[116]

"A league to enforce peace must be composed of nations that will both keep faith with one another and practically act in coöperation with one another against the law-breaker. Practically, these requirements can be met, and will be met, only if the component nations of the league share a common civilization, hold a common attitude towards questions of right, liberty, law and polity, and share a sense of common danger threatening them from nations whose interests, ambitions, moralities and polities are antagonistic to theirs."

Some sociologists believe that ultimately, when higher cultural and juristic development has put an end to the perennial threat of war a period of political devolution will follow which will allow governmental units to assume a size that harmonizes best with geographical regions or unified districts of habitation or with administrative convenience and an alert public interest in political affairs. The age of the national territorial state and the

[115] Novicow, *La Fédération de l'Europe.*

[116] Giddings, "The Basis of an Enduring Peace," in The *Publications of the American Association for International Conciliation*, April, 1917, No. 113, pp. 16–17. For a thorough discussion of the relation of cultural homogeneity and likemindedness to any effective internationalism see Tenney, "Theories of Social Organization and the Problem of International Peace," *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1915.

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world organization of states must be looked upon as a temporary episode in the history of humanity and a necessary discipline of the race.[117]

X. EXTRA-LEGAL PHASES OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

There can be no doubt that the most important of all the contributions of sociology to political theory and practice are those which deal with the extra-legal social and psychological phases of behavior and control.[118] In fact it is in this field that sociology can be more useful to political science than in a specific treatment of precise problems of politics. Sociology has analyzed the social foundations of the public order, the processes of social control and the origin and nature of obedience, and looks upon the state as one highly developed and specialized agency within society for enforcing uniformity of behavior and insuring order and obedience. Professor Ross in his famous work on *Social Control* has analyzed with originality and acumen the operation of the various socio-psychological forces which bring about order and conformity in society, such as custom, fashion, convention, public opinion, suggestion, beliefs and ideals, and has made clear after all how small a part political institutions play in maintaining order and uniformity in society. Walter Lippmann, in his brilliant *Preface to Politics* has made a notable contribution to this same field and has brought into play a somewhat more up-to-date psychology. Professor Giddings has indicated the various ways in which society secures conformity to behavior types and patterns, through what he terms the process of "social self-control."[119]

In his three works, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, *Social Organization*, and *Social Process*, Professor Cooley has indicated the elements of personality, ideals, organization and basic processes which lie back of political and economic processes and institutions. Graham Wallas in his *Human Nature in Politics*

[117] Vaccaro, *Les Bases sociologiques du droit et de l'état*, pp. 473ff.

[118] Cf. Lippmann, *Preface to Politics;* Ross, *Social Control.*

[119] Giddings, "Social Self-Control," in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1909); "Pluralistic Behavior," in *American Journal of Sociology*, January and March, 1920.

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has attacked the older intellectualistic political psychology that characterized the Benthamite hedonistic calculus, and has indicated the importance of instinctive and emotional forces. In his later works, *The Great Society* and *Our Social Heritage*, he has both carried on his critical work and made helpful suggestions as to the solution of current political and social problems through "social invention" and more adequate forms of social organization and coöperative endeavor.

Special treatments of particular phases of the operation of socio-psychic factors are numerous. Among the more notable are Sumner's voluminous descriptive treatment of the sociological significance of customs, usages, folkways and mores;[120] Giddings' analysis of the sociological significance of the "consciousness of kind;"[121] Tarde's analysis of repetition, opposition and adaptation;[122] the importance of social impression and the crowd-psychological state as set forth by Durkheim, Le Bon and Sighele;[123] Trôtter's telling statement of the great sociological importance of herd-instinct;[124] the emphasis of Ross, Sidis, Davenport and Wallas on suggestion;[125] McDougall's discussion of the importance of the gregarious and self-regarding instincts and the nature of the group-mind;[126] Sutherland's voluminous genetic and analytic exposition of social sympathy;[127] Kidd's insistence that religion alone has been able to furnish the chief bond of social cohesion and control;[128] and Fouillée's view of the nature, importance and evolution of "idea-forces" in society.[129] Most of these contributions to political psychology have been anti-

[120] Sumner, *Folkways*.

[121] Giddings, *Inductive Sociology*, pp. 91ff.

[122] Tarde, *Social Laws; Les Transformations du Pouvoir*.

[123] Durkheim, *Les Règles de la méthode sociologique; The Elementary Forms of Religious Life;* Le Bon, *The Crowd;* Sighele, *Psychologie des sectes*.

[124] Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd*.

[125] Ross, *Social Control*, chs. XIII–XV; *Social Psychology*, ch. II; Sidis, *The Psychology of Suggestion;* Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals;* Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics*.

[126] McDougall, *Social Psychology; The Group Mind*.

[127] Sutherland, *The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*.

[128] Kidd, *Social Evolution*.

[129] Fouillée, *L'Evolutionisme des idées-forces*, especially introduction.

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intellectualistic, but Ward and Hobhouse have pointed out the dangers in overemphasizing this point of view. While acknowledging the dominance of instinctive and emotional forces at present, they correctly insist that only through an improvement and utilization of intellectual factors can any definite future advancement be assured.

From another angle sociologists have set forth the importance of individual forces, such as the leadership of great men in social and political processes. Comte, Mallock, Le Bon, Galton, Ward, Michels, Sumner, Howard and Mumford have analyzed the problems of leadership from various angles, historical, cultural and political; and Professor Cooley has succeeded fairly well in the difficult task of working out a synthesis of the individual and social influences operating in society and politics.[130]

A number of writers, especially Cooley, Tarde, Ross, McDougall and Sumner have dealt with the subject of public opinion, have given this concept more precision and have indicated its relation to political processes.[131] Lester F. Ward has discussed the sociological nature and uses of education with a profundity and thoroughness not equalled by any other writer.[132] Professor Ellwood has brought together a synthesis of these psychological factors in a work which is easily the most comprehensive and scholarly contribution yet made to sociology from the psychological standpoint.[133] Finally, it should be remembered that those biological, economic and geographical factors in the state which were dealt with above also fall logically within the scope of sociological contributions to the extra-legal aspects of politics, and that the whole sociological analysis of the social process furnishes the indispensable propaedeutics for the study of political science.[134]

[130] In addition to the works of these authors which have been mentioned above, see Galton, *Hereditary Genius; Inquiries into the Human Faculties;* Mumford, "The Origins of Leadership," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 12.

[131] See their works as cited above.

[132] Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*, II, ch. XIV.

[133] Ellwood, *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects.* For the best guide to the literature of this subject see Howard's *Syllabus of Social Psychology.*

[134] Cf. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, bk. II, ch. I; Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 193ff.

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XI. POLITICAL THEORY AND THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

One of the most widely accepted of the present views concerning the history of political theory is that the type of theory is normally closely related to the social environment from which the author draws his material and receives his stimuli. Kropotkin, Oppenheimer, Gumplowicz, the French social psychologists, and Mc Dougall are good examples of sociologists whose contributions may be traced directly to their social environment.[135] The work of Sumner and Trotter on the mores and herd instinct has thrown much light upon the basis for the relation between social environment and social theory, but Professor Giddings has gone further than any other sociologist in his attempt to explain the correlation between the successive advances in social and political theory and the changes in the social and political environment. Modern analytical psychology is producing convincing evidence that there is another phase of the subject, namely, the complexes of the individual writer. The synthetic approach to the interpretation of the political theory of a given writer will doubtless have to be based upon both the social and the individual background.[136]

XII. CONCLUDING ESTIMATE

Though the above rapid enumeration of the most notable sociological contributions to political problems would indicate that sociological writers have done something more than to "touch the substantial borders of the state," the most significant thing about sociology and modern political theory is that most of the changes which have taken place in political theory in the last thirty years have been along the line of development suggested and marked out by sociology. This is the best possible vindica-

[135] Cf. Lippmann's review of McDougall's *Group Mind* in the *New Republic*, December 15, 1920.

[136] Giddings, "Concepts and Methods of Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 10; "A Theory of Social Causation," *Publications of the American Economic Association*, third series, V, No. 2; Article "Sociology," in *New International Encyclopedia; American Journal of Psychology*, July, 1913, pp. 360–77; Ibid., April, 1918, pp. 159–81; *Psychoanalytic Review*, January, 1921, pp. 22–37.

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tion of the sociological excursion into social science and political analysis. As Professor Small has very well said:[137]

"The only possible vindication of an intellectual movement is that people after a while find themselves thinking its way. It is as evident that all thinking about social relations is setting irresistibly towards sociological channels, as that all our thinking is affected by Darwinism. The solemn men, who return from reading the signs of the times with reports that there is nothing in sociology, deserve a stanza in the old song of Noah's neighbors. They knew it wasn't going to be much of a shower."

Of course, no one would be foolish enough to contend that this broader approach to political problems is ultra-modern or the contribution recent of sociology. From the time of Aristotle onward there have been writers who stressed the social, economic and psychological background of political phenomena. Aristotle's analysis of the psychological and economic factors in political institutions; Machiavelli's psychological study of leadership; Bodin's crude attempt to work out the physical and psychic foundation of politics; Althusius' emphasis on the group as the basis of social and political life;[138] Harrington's views on the importance of property and mental capacity in political activity and policies; Montesquieu's notion of political relativity, founded upon a sociological view of the factors creating and shaping the state; Ferguson's anticipation of Gumplowicz in tracing the historical origins of the state; the economic interpretation of politics brought forward by the Ricardian Socialists; Hamilton's contention that the raw material of politics was to be sought in the facts of human nature and not in "musty parchments;" the keen analysis of the part played by property in determining political allignments which is contained in the writings of John Adams, Madison, Webster and Calhoun; and the contention of Calhoun that representative government should be based to a considerable extent upon the recognition of these elemental interest groups, are but some of the more conspicuous

[137] Small, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 15, pp. 14–15.

[138] Probably Althusius will, sooner or later, be regarded as the real "founder" of sociology.

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examples of a fundamentally sociological approach to the analysis of political phenomena.

This tendency was, however, interrupted and obstructed for a half century by the influence of the lawyers upon political theory and practice. So far did this go that we find so eminent a political scientist as Professor Burgess declaring, "I do not hesitate to call the governmental system of the United States the aristocracy of the robe and I do not hesitate to pronounce this the truest aristocracy for the purposes of government which the world has yet produced."[139] Even formal political science was for the most part dominated by the abstract metaphysical and legalistic approach and concepts of the Hegelian dialectic, the Austinian analytical jurisprudence and the German *Staatsrechtslehre*. Perhaps that which is most to the credit of this school is the frankness and cheerfulness with which they have admitted the fact that their doctrines have nothing in common with those of the sociological school.

This does not in any way imply that the sociological postulates cannot be harmonized with the viewpoint of the student of jurisprudence. It is not a matter of sociology versus law, but of sociology versus the type of law represented by the political doctrines of William D. Guthrie, or in the majority decision in the case of *Lochner* v. *New York* or that of the *Hitchman Coal and Coke Company* v. *Mitchell*. Indeed, some of the most significant and helpful impulses to the sociological orientation have come from such lawyers as Gierke, Maitland, Duguit, Pound, Freund, Kirchwey, Powell, Frankfurter, Goodnow, and from judges such as Holmes, Brandeis, G. W. Anderson and Learned Hand.

What modern sociology has done for political science is not to originate the synthetic approach to politics, but rather to put the lawyers of the metaphysical and "mechanical" schools to rout, and to restore the viewpoint of Ferguson, Hall, Madison and Calhoun. Indeed, it has done more than to restore this general

[139] *Political Science*, II, p. 365. Cited by Merriam, *American Political Ideas*, p. 155. Small wonder that Professor Burgess was not succeeded by the author of *Social Reform and the Constitution*.

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viewpoint; it has strengthened and modernized it through an infusion of Darwinian and Neo-Darwinian biology and functional and behavioristic psychology. It would be futile to discuss whether this change has been due to sociological influences alone or to that general change of method and attitude that has been contemporaneous with the gradual development of sociology. Be that as it may, one cannot well escape from the conviction that it has been a product of the triumph of the "sociological movement," for there was certainly nothing in Austin or Dumont which would lead directly to Roscoe Pound and Léon Duguit, and little in Laband or Jellinek which would bring forth the doctrines of Graham Wallas, Ratzenhofer, Bentley or Beard.[140]

[140] Those who care to follow further a more detailed consideration of the contributions of leading sociologists to political theory will find articles in the *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1917, July and September, 1919, September, 1921, to July, 1922; the *Journal of Race Development*, April, 1919; the *Philosophical Review*, May, 1919; the *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1920; the *American Journal of Psychology*, October, 1920; the *Encyclopedia Americana* (1920) Vol. 25, pp. 166–86; the *Journal of International Relations*, October, 1921; and the *English Sociological Review*, 1921–2.

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THE INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

Organization and Methods. The Institute of Politics, held at Williamstown, Massachusetts, during the month of August, originated in a proposal made in 1913 by President Garfield of Williams College to the trustees of that institution. The plans of President Garfield were followed so faithfully in the final establishment and operation of the Institute that no separate description of those plans is needed here. Through the generosity of Mr. Barnard M. Baruch, who responded cordially to President Garfield's invitation to supply the funds needed for the project, and the liberality of the trustees of Williams College, the original conception was given complete fruition. Mr. Baruch's support was, moreover, pledged for the first three sessions of the Institute, thus making certain that meetings will be held in 1922 and 1923.

The work of the Institute was performed under President Garfield's direction, assisted by Mr. W. E. Hoyt, treasurer of Williams College, and Professors Weston and McLaren, also of Williams, and by a board of advisors among whom were Professors Taft, Coolidge, P. M. Brown, Moore, and W. W. Willoughby and Dr. J. B. Scott. Its object was—and will continue to be—to promote the study of international affairs.

The activities of the Institute were inaugurated by opening exercises in Grace Hall on July 29, when addresses were delivered by President Garfield, Chief Justice Taft, President Lowell, and Mayor Peters of Boston.

The work of the Institute during its first session fell into three divisions, namely, lectures, conferences, and outside activities. Of these briefly in their turn.

There were delivered, by distinguished European publicists, during the four weeks of the Institute, some fifty formal lectures on international questions grouped into six courses. The titles of the lecture courses and the names of the lecturers follow:

I. International Relations of the Old World States in their Historical, Political, Commercial, Legal, and Ethical Aspects, including a Discussion of the Causes of Wars and the Means of Averting Them. The Right Honorable Viscount James Bryce.

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II. Russia's Foreign Relations During the last Half Century. The Right Honorable Baron Sergius A. Korff.

III. Near Eastern Affairs and Conditions. The Honorable Stephen Panaretoff.

IV. The Place of Hungary in European History. The Right Honorable Count Paul Teleki.

V. Modern Italy: Its Intellectual, Cultural and Financial Aspects. The Right Honorable Tommaso Tittoni.

VI. The Economic Factor in International Relations. Professor Achille Viallate.

The round table conferences, led by distinguished American scholars, were arranged in eight groups. They were conducted by the leaders and assisted by the secretaries named below:

I. *New States of Central Europe.* Leaders: Professors A. C. Coolidge and R. H. Lord of Harvard. Secretary: Professor Laurence Packard of Rochester.

II. *The Reparations Question.* Leader: Norman H. Davis. Secretary: Arthur Bullard.

III. *Treaty of Versailles.* Leader: Professor J. W. Garner of Illinois. Secretary: Professor Pitman B. Potter of Wisconsin.

IV. *New Frontiers in Europe and the Near East.* Leaders: Professor C. H. Haskins of Harvard; Colonel Lawrence Martin. Secretary: Professor Laurence Packard of Rochester.

V. *Fundamental Concepts in International Law.* Leader: Professor J. S. Reeves of Michigan. Secretary: Lloyd Haberly of Harvard.

VI. *Latin American Questions.* Leader: Director L. S. Rowe of the Pan American Union. Secretary: W. P. Montgomery of the Pan American Union.

VII. Tariff Problems. Leader: Professor F. W. Taussig of Harvard. Secretary: R. L. Masson of Harvard.

VIII. *Unsettled Questions in International Law.* Leader: Professor G. G. Wilson of Harvard. Secretary: Lloyd Haberly of Harvard.

The lectures were intended primarily for the members of the Institute, for whom seats were accordingly reserved. But they were, nevertheless, open to the public and were largely attended by visitors. The conferences were intended solely for those members of the Institute enrolled in them. Each member was expected to enroll in two, and only two, conferences. The result was that each conference contained some twenty-five or thirty members. The lectures were delivered in Grace Hall at 11.15 A. M. and 8.15 P. M., and were of an hour's duration.

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Conferences were held in four different buildings of Williams College at 9 A. M. and 2:30 P. M., and lasted from one and one half to two hours each, depending upon the inclination of the leader, the subject up for discussion, and the amount of discussion which developed. Ample supplies of books and documents were available for the use of members of the conferences as a result of the generosity and foresight of those in charge of the Institute and the staff of the Williams College library.

The conferences were conducted in some cases as lecture-and-discussion groups, in other cases as seminars with reports by members of the conference and general discussion based thereon. In the former case distinguished visitors were often invited to be present and address the conference; certain of the lecturers attended the conferences from time to time and spoke briefly. The bulk of the work was, however, done by the members of the conferences, who were provided by the secretaries with outlines, bibliographies, and reading references on the topics coming up for discussion. Here also the discussions centered upon the most critical international problems of the day.

The members of the Institute numbered one hundred and thirty-eight. About one quarter of these were women. Substantially all of the members were thirty-five years of age or over. About one-half were academic people of one grade or another, including three college presidents and forty-seven teachers of professorial rank. Professional life contributed some fifty lawyers, diplomats, clergymen, lecturers, authors, and journalists. The army and navy sent four general staff men; a few Asiatic students—Indian, Chinese, and Japanese—were present; and a few business men. All of these paid a nominal fee of ten dollars for the privilege of taking part in the work of the Institute.

The members came chiefly from one section of the United States, as is shown by the following list:

Massachusetts	45
New York	35
Northeastern United States (not included above)	21
Washington, D. C.	8
Southern United States	5
Middle West	11
Far West	2
Asia	5
Europe	4
Latin America	2
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The members were provided with good board and comfortable rooms in the college buildings at very reasonable rates. Those in charge even went so far as to provide these accommodations to members of the families of the lecturers, leaders, secretaries, and members. The faculty club opened its doors to all Institute visitors. Everyone was made as comfortable as possible.

Mention of living quarters in Williamstown leads directly to the outside activities of the members of the Institute. Of these, the principal one was conversation. At all times and places, but particularly at table in the Commons dining hall and in the reception room adjoining the dining hall, during the hours following lunch and dinner, there developed an active and serious yet very interesting and lively conversation where lecturers, leaders, secretaries, and members participated freely and equally, in casual and informal attempts to thresh out the truth about the Coto region, the codification of international law, the waterways clauses of the treaty, or the Baranya.

Not all of the conversation turned on international relations, of course. For there were plenty of opportunities for hill climbing in the Berkshires, for tennis on the college courts and golf on the links of the hospitable Taconic Country Club, for dancing, and for motoring over the Mohawk Trail and the other fine roads about Williamstown. A useful guide book was furnished to the members giving full directions for walks to Petersburg Pass, Tri-State Corner, Greylock, and other points of interest. The organ recitals given on Sunday afternoons and the numerous teas and receptions held in the afternoons during the session should also be remembered. But space does not permit, and dignity forbids, us to dwell on the many trips to the Post Office, the antics of the amplifier in Grace Hall, or the familiar doings of some of the *charactères célèbres* among the leaders and members of the Institute.

In retrospect it was felt that the one hundred and forty hours of work in the conferences contributed about one half of the value of the Institute, and the fifty hours of lectures and the outside activities about one quarter each in the total.

The Institute may be examined from two points of view. We may judge the result to see how far it met the plans of those in charge; and we may judge the plans of those in charge, as manifested in the result, to see whether they were all that could be desired.

Judged by the former standard, the first session was a thorough success. Those in charge had planned the operations of the session completely in advance and, as was frequently noted by members,

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"everything went like clock work" as a result. The scheduled program was executed smoothly and thoroughly. When changes were needed they were made, promptly and effectively.

Some details might be mentioned wherein all was not perfect. Three of the lecturers could not be understood readily by their audiences, and two of them dealt too frequently in generalities and platitudes. Only two of the special addresses by prominent Americans materialized. At times some ambiguity arose respecting the exact intent and procedure of one or two of the conferences. In a half-dozen cases the members of the Institute were incompetent and in one or two cases a nuisance. By and large, however, the session was successfully carried out as planned.

When we turn to the plans as drawn, there are a few suggestions to be made. They should only be made, however, after a statement of the object or objects of the Institute. The Institute might be either a super-seminar or a super-chautauqua. As a matter of fact, it was, and probably must necessarily be, more or less of both. The lectures appealed to the amateur interest in international relations, the conferences to the professional interest. Two only of the lecture courses were sufficiently "advanced" to appeal to specialists; only one or two of the conferences were general in character. The lectures ought to be judged from the point of view of the majority of the members of the Institute, who were amateurs, albeit very high grade amateurs, in the field of international relations. The professional student and teacher must judge the Institute primarily by reference to the conferences. This being understood, it remains to be said that the number of lectures might well be diminished and a lecturer obtained from Austria or Germany and from one of the northern European neutral states. Such plans are already entertained for next year.

The number of conferences should be increased. This also will probably be done next summer. Further, the number of persons registered in each conference ought to be, and probably will be, diminished. Finally, visitors will be prevented from hampering—even inadvertently—the thoroughness of the scientific work in the conferences.

The last point suggests the most difficult problem of all. Should members of the Institute not enrolled in a certain conference, not to speak of visitors generally, be allowed to attend that conference and listen to the lecture-discussion? Much benefit is obtained from such visiting; the intensiveness of the discussion by the enrolled members is, however, somewhat impaired thereby. The two aspects of the Institute, as seminar and as chautauqua, come in conflict here.

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In the opinion of the writer, it would be well if the conferences could meet in rooms where visitors could be accommodated, but in such a way as not to interfere with the discussions, and they should be prevented from interrupting the discussion in the conference. It may be objected that this would deter members from speaking fully for fear of being quoted, just as it was planned this year to exclude press representatives from the conferences for the same reason. The objection is not serious, if the evidence of the past session is reliable. There was, and must be, too much mixture of people in the conferences in any event to allow a military, naval or diplomatic official to speak too freely. On the other hand, all who were present at Williamstown seemed to be persons of discretion. Finally, the choicer bits of information and interpretation were, as they must be, passed about in conversation outside the formal conferences.

Finally, there should be no misunderstanding regarding the object of the Institute. The intention is not to give a beginner or an intermediate student a systematic course in international law or relations, but rather to offer to the advanced and mature student and the teacher of international law and relations an opportunity to fill out gaps in his background and information, to study certain selected details intensively, and to refresh his thought by a free exchange of ideas. It is not the intention to provide a pleasant vacation for idlers. Those who take part are expected to take part actively and sincerely.

The first session of the Institute was a success, and it provided suggestions for improvement for the next session. The enrollment threatens to be rather large unless rigorously limited in advance. With the Far East included in the subjects of discussion and such names as Redlich, Smuts, and Cecil rumored for lecturers, this may well be expected. It is, at all events, already evident that President Garfield and Mr. Baruch have given American a new and valuable institution of higher education in that, at present, most critical of all fields for study, international law and politics.

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Lectures and Conferences.[1] The inaugural exercises of the Institute of Politics were devoted to addresses explaining the circumstances

[1] The following notes were compiled from personal summaries made by the writer, as well as from newspaper reports of the lectures and from abstracts kindly furnished by the secretaries of the several conferences. Owing to the amount of

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which had led to the conception of the idea of the Institute and the definite purpose which it was intended to accomplish. President Garfield referred to his original plan of bringing together college professors and instructors in history for the purpose of putting them in touch with the facts of present history and the statesmen who have been close to recent events. Chief Justice Taft laid stress upon the intention to make the Institute a symposium of views of leading thinkers, historians, and statesmen of important countries whose economic and political conditions and the public opinion of whose people were important to the world. Mayor Peters of Boston described the general purpose of the Institute. President Lowell pointed out the necessity at the present day of introducing a sense of responsibility on the part of the stronger nations for good order in the world and the means by which that responsibility might be made effective.

The Lectures. The series of lectures given by Lord Bryce was a development of the general topic of "the international relations of the old world states in their historical, political, commercial, legal and ethical aspects, including a discussion of the causes of wars and the means of averting them." In his opening address the speaker gave a general survey of the growth of law between nations from the days of the Greek city states down to the present time. The meaning of the sovereignty of states was explained and the necessity of inculcating a sounder and wider view of national interests, which in turn depended upon the moral progress of the individual men who compose the communities. The effect of the spread of democracy upon foreign relations was described and the methods of propaganda resorted to for the control of public opinion. In his second address the speaker showed that the seeds of future wars had been sown by the deliberations and findings of the Paris conference, and that the treaties drawn up there were already admitted to need amendment. The effects of the peace treaty upon the relations between Germany and France was pointed out and a dark picture drawn of the outlook for peace along the Rhine. The transfer of the Austrian Tyrol to Italy was severely criticised, as well as the secret treaty of 1915 which was the excuse made by Great Britain and France for their action. The possibility of a release of Russia from the present domination of a group of adventurers was discussed,

condensation necessary it is possible that inaccuracies may be found in the record of facts stated and views expressed. The intention of the writer has been to present the substance of the topics discussed, rather than to ascribe definite statements or opinions to the various speakers.

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as well as the question of a later attempt on the part of Russia to recover the border states now separated from it. Explanation was made of the failure of the Christian powers to punish Turkey for its misgovernment of its subjects.

Financiers, it was pointed out in a subsequent lecture, had a great hand in the negotiations preceding wars and in fixing lines of policy, but it was not generally true that they were the makers of wars. The effect of international trade in drawing the peoples of different countries closer together was pointed out and contrasted with the effect of tariffs and other methods resorted to by states for protecting and increasing their domestic trade. The competition between Germany and Great Britain for the markets of the world and the jealousy felt by certain Germans towards British territorial possessions were discussed in their relation to the great war, and the assertion was made that the less governments had to do with business and international finance the better it would be for their peoples. Among the other causes of war stress was laid upon the growth of the sentiment of nationality during the nineteenth century. The earlier liberalism of the movement for national unity had given way to national vanity and selfishness, with the result that the lust for territority was still to be reckoned with. In addition there was the difficulty of mixed populations, for which the protection of minorities provided for in the peace treaties did not promise a remedy. Certain grievances created by the misapplication at Paris of the principle of self-determination must be cured before permanent peace could be obtained.

The codification of international law by an association composed of representatives of the civilized nations was, the speaker showed, the necessary preliminary to the formation of a tribunal competent to try offenses against international law and to enforce penalties on convicted offenders. There was need of developing the international law of peace as contrasted with the law of war which had received chief stress in the past. A definite and effective sanction was necessary if international law was to acquire any real force. The absence of any superior authority with power to impose upon nations those restraints which in a civilized country are imposed upon individuals was the chief reason why states had failed to live up to the moral standards demanded of honorable men in the relations of private life. Was it to be admitted that a different standard of morality applied to states than to individuals? What bearing had secret treaties upon the morality of states? It was difficult to take the management of foreign affairs from the

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hands of a few and entrust it to the many, but at least public opinion could be kept better informed and consulted upon the larger issues.

Problems involved in the coming disarmament conference at Washington were described and set off against the urgent need for an agreement among the great powers to reduce their armaments. What scale could be fixed for each country which its army, navy, and aircraft should not in the future exceed? These would in each case be apportioned to the area and population of the country, but it was also necessary to consider the defensibility of frontiers, the means of communication within the country, and the possibility of internal disturbances. An international board of inspection might be set up to watch over the fulfillment of the undertakings made to keep within the prescribed limits.

In a final survey of the world situation Lord Bryce pointed out that some positive step must be taken in the way of international organization to provide for the settlement of disputes between states. The difficulties in the way of such an organization arising from the political inequality of states and from the attempt to apply an effective sanction were great, but the alternative was war and the destruction of civilization. Henceforth all nations had a common interest in the maintenance of peace, and the United States could not afford to refuse to coöperate. The present members of the League of Nations meant, he said, to continue to support the only plan yet launched which promised success.

"Russia's foreign relations during the last half century" formed the subject of the series of lectures given by Baron Sergius A. Korff. The opening address reviewed the relations between France and Russia before and after the formation of the Dual Alliance. In making this alliance, the speaker said, France had seriously miscalculated the future of Russia by helping the Russian reactionaries to suppress the liberal elements which would in the end have proved a far more reliable support to republican France. The money loaned by France to Russia helped to maintain a degenerate autocratic government which was fated to fall sooner or later. In spite, however, of the wrong purposes to which the French loans had been put by the Russian government, there was not the slightest danger that these loans would remain unpaid, although the interest might be held up for a number of years. The whole commercial future of Russia was dependent upon her credit, and besides she had ample natural resources to meet the demands upon her.

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The relations between Russia and Great Britain were marked by the gradual transition from an attitude of mutual hostility to one of friendship. The two nations were often close to war in the years following the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Later it was seen to be to the interest of peace in the west that Great Britain should draw closer to Russia, but in so doing she had been obliged to sacrifice Persia to the demands of Russian autocracy. Gradually Great Britain had become convinced that Germany, not Russia, was her real enemy, with the result that by 1914 the Triple Entente was ready to oppose the Triple Alliance. By contrast, Russia's relations with Japan, which were of comparatively recent origin, had been marked by a growing militaristic attitude. Japan had learned after 1895 the European methods of double-dealing, and she applied the teachings to Russia and China. Bad feeling between the two nations was intensified by the determination of some Russian adventurers, aided by the Czar, to obtain concessions in Korea. Internal troubles in Russia had forced her to conclude a premature peace with Japan, for Russia's position could not have been made worse by the delay of peace, while Japan was at the end of her resources and was saved by President Roosevelt's intervention from an economic collapse which might have called for constitutional reforms in Japan as well.

Relations of Russia with Austria were marked by the clash of racial ambitions. Slavism competed with Teutonism for the control of the Balkan states. The story was one of parallel alliances, intrigues and mutual distrust. Relations fell into three periods, from 1878 to 1897, when distinct tension was evident, from 1897 to 1908, a time of relative friendship, and from 1908 to 1914, during which relations became steadily worse until a final break became inevitable. The Balkan wars of 1912–1913 changed the whole aspect of the near-east policies of Russia and her relations with Austria. Vienna and Berlin had a new opportunity to spread their propaganda among the Bulgarian people, with the result that Bulgaria thought it to her interest to take sides with Germany and Austria in the great war.

The quarrel between Russia and Turkey was centuries old, due primarily to Russia's demand for an outlet to the sea. Its latest phase before 1914 was marked by the growing influence of Germany in Constantinople and the fear on the part of Russia of a national danger if Germany became intrenched on the Bosporus. The relations between Russia and Germany were seldom friendly. The various treaties that were made between the two countries were regarded by Germany,

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simply as insurance, the main object being to build up an alliance with Austria. Bismarck was not much impressed with the strength of Russia but certain German generals had urged a preventive war as early as 1888. The coolness of Germany towards Russia led to the very thing Bismarck feared, a rapprochement between Russia and France.

Baron Korff's final lecture dealt with secret diplomacy and its evils. Parliamentary government, it was shown, had left secret diplomacy still possible, though less probable. The device of creating a *fait acccompli* had often been resorted to by diplomats to force the hand of parliaments. Secrecy did much to harm the Franco-Russian alliance because it prevented public opinion in both countries from supporting the Russian constitutional movement; while secret diplomacy was alone to blame for the Russo-Japanese conflict. The whole machinery of diplomacy needed overhauling. Foreign offices must be modernized in respect to their personnel and better controlled as to their general policies.

The series of lectures given by the Hon. Stephen Panaretoff, Bulgarian minister to the United States, was devoted to "near eastern affairs and conditions." An introductory address reviewed the early history of the peoples of the Balkan peninsula with special reference to their racial antagonisms. The Bulgarians were, he showed, not Bulgars but Slavs. The handful of conquerors had given their name to the country but had soon been assimilated and lost from view. The success of the Turk both before and after the invasion had been due to lack of unity among the Slav peoples.

Succeeding lectures dealt with the history of the church in Bulgaria, its relations to political and social life, the past history of Bulgarian schools and the present status of educational institutions, and the outlook for constitutional and democratic government in the Balkan states. A saner press and a more enlightened public opinion as well as a healthier atmosphere among the political parties were, the speaker said, everywhere observable.

The future of the Turk in Asia Minor was dependent upon the abandonment of the policy of Pan-Islamism. The frank and sincere application of Turkey to Europe for help in reorganizing the country was its sole hope. Past experience with Turkish promises did not warrant the belief that the Christian populations would be protected from despotic government. The integrity of Turkey which had been so often supported in the past was no longer the slogan of European diplomacy. The haphazard interventions of the nineteenth century had brought

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little relief to the Christian minorities. A definite plan of European control was needed.

Bulgaria's part in the world war was shown by Mr. Panaretoff to have been determined by the influence of ex-King Ferdinand with a cabinet of ministers avowedly pro-Austrian. Popular feeling might have overridden the will of the king if the Allies had offered more definite and concrete terms. The refusal of Serbia, Greece, and Rumania to make any concessions facilitated the task of the Central Powers in drawing Bulgaria to their side. The greatest stumbling block to Balkan confederation was the adjustment of territorial boundaries along national lines. The discussions of the Peace Conference were marked by vindictiveness and had confirmed the injustices of the treaty of Bucharest of 1913. It would have been better if the disputed regions had been put under an international control and their inhabitants given eventually a fair chance of declaring freely their wishes. The treaty of Neuilly must be revised, the speaker said, if there was to be permanent peace in the Balkans.

"The place of Hungary in European history" was the subject of a series of lectures by Count Paul Teleki, ex-premier of Hungary. The influence of geographical factors in the development of the political and economic life of Hungary was described in detail, and comparisons were made with the part played by geographical conditions in the development of the American nation. There were, the speaker said, four main facts in the history of Hungary which had had a decisive influence upon the course of history on the European continent. The Carpathians were one of the most formidable natural barriers, and were a perfect defensive frontier against inroads from the east as soon as one central power came to hold their whole length. Again, the acceptance by Hungary of western civilization and religion and the consolidation of its government had resulted in the division of the southern from the northern Slavs and had prevented a Slavic domination of Europe. The strong nationalism and centralized government of Hungary made it possible for her to be the chief bulwark against the advance of the Turk and to save Italy and western civilization. A high degree of culture was attained which would have resulted in a hegemony of the Balkans had not the victory of Turkey in 1526 driven a wedge through the nation and depopulated the central region.

When the Turk was finally driven out the national government was in the hands of an Austrian dynasty which recolonized the devastated areas in such a way as to destroy the Hungarian national character.

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Foreign settlers, German, Slovak, Serbian, and Rumanian were invited to immigrate into the country, with the result that Hungary was changed from a national state, 80 per cent Magyar, into a polyglot state in which by 1789 the Magyars formed but 39 per cent. The racial question in Hungary was thus primarily the result of immigration forced upon the country against its will, and unfortunately Hungarian statesmen failed to meet the situation by taking measures to assimilate the alien nationalities. By the middle of the nineteenth century the separate nationalities, encouraged by the imperial government, were past the stage of possible assimilation, and the Hungarian government could do no more than spread the use of the Magyar language as a medium of commercial and social communication.

After discussing the pre-war economic condition of Hungary the speaker dwelt in detail upon the disastrous effects of the decisions of the Peace Conference. The flour mills of Budapest, second only in capacity to those of Minneapolis, were at a standstill because their former supply of wheat was cut off by the prohibitive export laws of Jugoslavia. Of Hungary's timber lands 90 per cent had been taken from her and pasture land must now be reforested. Hungary had lost control of the headwaters of her rivers, with the result that irrigation projects would meet with greater difficulties and the danger of floods had been increased by the cutting of forests in Transylvania by Rumanians. Worst of all the new boundary lines cut directly through the area known as the 'market line' where commerce between the highland and the lowland regions was most intensified.

Bolshevism in Hungary was a foreign product, transplanted by a determined and unscrupulous minority, against the wishes of the majority of the population. Its collapse was due to its inability to organize production, helped on by the dogged resistance of the Hungarian peasant farmer. The chief difficulty in the way of economic improvement lay in the restrictive barriers set up by commercial treaties. The whole system was one of mutual chicanery. But in spite of these obstacles Hungary meant to work out her own salvation by a fearless and scientific study of the facts before her.

A series of lectures on "Modern Italy: its intellectual, cultural, and financial aspects" was given by Signor Tommaso Tittoni, president of the Italian Senate. Chief stress was laid by the speaker upon present economic conditions in Italy and their relation to world politics. The history of labor legislation in Italy was traced from the proclamation of the kingdom in 1861 to the present day. On the side of labor the

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period of mutual aid which began with the unification of Italy was succeeded by a period of class struggle, which in turn was followed by the recent invasion of the factories by the workmen. This last phase had wisely been allowed by the government to run its course, with the result that the workers came to realize the difficulties of industrial management and communism rapidly lost ground. Various proposals for giving labor a share in the management of industry were now under consideration. In respect to the land problem the measures thus far taken to increase small holdings must be supplemented by an organic law for the sub-division of large estates. Signor Tittoni's observation of the many state and city owned industrial enterprises in Italy led him to the conclusion that municipal ownership was never desirable as an economic proposition, and that the fullest possible economic liberty should be reëstablished as soon as war conditions were past.

The connection between Italy's industrial life and the problems of world politics was forcibly presented by the speaker in his plea for the abolition of discriminating prices and export duties in connection with the distribution of the raw materials of industry. The tendency of nations possessing a monopoly of raw materials to reserve them for their own use exclusively would have the effect of forcing the importing nations to put differential duties upon manufactured goods from those countries and to retaliate by similar export duties upon their own raw materials. The embitterment of the economic struggle thus resulting would, he said, throw the markets of the world into the greatest disorder. An international regulation of the distribution of raw materials was an essential condition of world peace. In like manner there was need of an international agreement to regulate and make stable the foreign exchanges. An international clearing house along the lines proposed by Luzzati might be set up, organized after the manner of the Universal Postal Union.

In his final address Signor Tittoni urged the return of freedom of immigration based upon bilateral agreements adapted to the different nations. Such freedom would conduce to the establishment of normal labor conditions, with resulting advantage to both countries.

"The economic factor in international relations" was the subject of the series of lectures given by Professor Achille Viallate of the École des Sciences Politiques of Paris. The opening address was devoted to a review of the "economic transformations" of the nineteenth century. A new era had been opened in which the economic factor had become one of the most important among those affecting the expansion

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and the decline of nations. World markets had led to a movement towards internationalization, which had, however, been counteracted by the sentiment of nationality, with the result that the nations had attempted to constitute themselves independent economic units with conflicting policies of expansion. By the end of the nineteenth century Great Britain alone remained faithful to free trade. Protectionism had become the settled policy of the other nations, although a more liberal policy was to be seen in the provisions for most-favored-nation treatment. This latter clause had, however, been strictly interpreted by the United States, which had pursued a very independent protectionist policy against which Europe was unable to retaliate because of its need for American raw materials.

Following the earlier struggle of the nations to acquire exclusive colonial markets had come the attempt to obtain protectorates and spheres of influence in undeveloped countries. Later still the export of capital became a matter of increasing concern. Efforts were made to acquire special facilities and advantages in backward countries by financing their public and private needs. This had led to a confusion of economic and political control, known as "dollar diplomacy," which had its good as well as its bad sides. The policy followed by the United States of coöperating with the other powers in the development of China was in contrast with its exclusive attitude in dealing with Latin American problems. If the economic causes of war are to be diminished in the future the aggressive character of nationalist sentiment must be modified. International understandings must replace unrestrained competition in the development of backward countries. Henceforth no nation could afford to lead an isolated economic life.

Round-Table Conferences. The work of the round-table conferences may be conveniently presented under the following subject-headings: the general theory of international law; unsettled problems of international law; special Latin American problems; economic problems involved in tariff laws; problems arising out of the treaty of Versailles; the specific problem of reparations to be made by the Central Powers; and the related groups of problems connected with the formation of new states in Europe and with the determination of new boundary lines. Under these eight headings it was possible to discuss most of the important international questions now before the world or as many of them as the leaders of the conferences thought it desirable to raise. In some instances there was an overlapping of subject-matter as distributed between the conferences, but this was rather an advantage

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than a disadvantage in so far as concerned the general object of the conferences.

The conference on the general theory of international law was conducted by Professor J. S. Reeves of the University of Michigan under the title "Fundamental concepts in international law in relation to political theory and legal philosophy." Eight fundamental questions in international relationships were examined critically with the object of laying bare the solid rock of international reality as the foundation for the reconstruction of international law. The "ends of international law" were first discussed, the attainment of international justice being shown to be the true end. International justice was to be determined not by abstract theories but by the honest expression of public opinion, which thus became the raw material of international law. International law, like national law, was a social product, and if it was to endure it must express the life and thought of the present day. The discussion on "the nature of international society" showed international law to be the natural result of the contact of state groups and of a desire of such groups to protect their mutual relationships. Hence it was important to determine the facts of modern international relationships, the protection of which was the basis of international law. The question of the "sanctions of international law" led to a discussion of the difference between the continental and the Anglo-Saxon conception of international law. The latter conception required a positive sanction of the type applied in municipal law, that is, the sanction of government.

"Sovereignty and independence" was discussed both historically and analytically, and it was shown that the concept of absolute sovereignty was erroneous in that it failed to take into account the necessary practical limitations upon sovereignty as well as the contradiction between an assertion of the legal nature of international law and the absolute power of the state. The idea of independence as necessarily absolute was also fallacious. In the discussions on "the equality of states" the equality was shown to be one of protection in the enjoyment of rights, that is, equality before the law, which did not predicate an equality of rights. Equality before the law was an essential condition of an enduring international organization. The "Declaration of the American Institute of International Law as to the rights and duties of nations" was criticised as being based upon an outworn doctrine of natural rights and as neglecting the international duties of states. The "doctrine of the reciprocating will" was discussed chiefly in connection with the recognition of new states. The United States

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had recently changed from its earlier *de facto* standard in determining whether there existed the combination in a state of will and machinery for its exercise, and now followed the principle of democratic legitimacy as a condition of recognition.

"The problem of codification" raised the question, which part of international law should first be codified. The laws of war were set aside as least proper for codification, being of doubtful "legal" character. Codification, it was said, should be confined at the outset to those portions of the law of peace upon which there was the most general agreement and in which there was the least element of strategic or political importance. The code must be adapted to changing facts and conditions. Formal codification would be likely to hinder the free development of international law.

The conference dealing with "Unsettled questions of international law" was conducted by Professor G. G. Wilson of Harvard University. In discussing the "present status of international law" it was shown that international law had stood the test of the great war and would be all the stronger for it. Since 1899 international law had developed more than throughout the whole of its previous history. The League of Nations was based upon international law, and the new permanent court would shortly be in existence for the judicial determination of the applications and limits of international law.

At the second session of this conference the topic of "Insurgency" was taken up by Professor P. M. Brown. The United States, it was shown, had used the embargo upon shipments of arms as a means of discouraging insurgent movements, and had assumed at times the position of judge in determining the issues between the insurgents and the established state. The responsibility of a state for losses to foreigners in time of insurrection was discussed, involving the question of the extent of protection which a foreigner entering a dangerous area might expect to receive from the government of the state.

The "law of leased territory" was treated by Professor Wilson with special reference to the Chinese leases of areas to Russia, Germany, and other powers. The subject of "the Panama Canal" raised the question of the sovereignty of the United States over the canal zone, as well as the question of the right of the United States to exempt its coastwise shipping from payment of tolls. The historical policy of the United States, it was shown, had passed through three successive periods of "internationalization," "joint neutralization," and "nationalization." The problem of "aerial jurisdiction" raised the question of

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the need of a special law of the air. The attempt to build up a law of the air on the analogy of the law of the sea was liable to lead into error because of defects in the analogy. The prohibition of the use of aircraft in war involved the difficulty of making such prohibitions binding. In time of war it was likely that the military advantage of superior means of bombardment would dictate their use.

Further problems of the law of war were discussed under the titles of "armed merchantmen," "visit and search," and "retaliation." The Declaration of Paris, it was shown, had done away with privateers, but new problems had arisen in connection with volunteer navies subsidized by the government and converted into auxiliary warships on the outbreak of war. There were divergent views as to the legality of conversion at sea, and as to the validity of the distinction between armament for offense and armament for defense. Modern conditions had made it difficult to apply the old rules of visit and search at sea, yet the delay involved in taking vessels to belligerent ports, such as Kirkwall, worked injury. The search of neutral vessels by belligerents also worked injustice by leading to the disclosure of business secrets. It was a disputed question whether a belligerent, in retaliating against the enemy might take action affecting neutrals. The United States, it was said, had interpreted the law of necessity strictly, holding that retaliation was outside law and had no place against neutrals.

The conference on "Latin American questions" was conducted by Dr. L. S. Rowe, director of the Pan American Union. The "attitude of the Latin American peoples toward the United States" was the first topic on the program. Attention was called to the objections to the general designation of "Latin American." There were far greater differences both in political advancement and in social organization between the so-called Latin American nations than between the Latin nations of Europe. Three periods could be distinguished in the attitude of the Latin American countries towards the United States, namely, from the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine to the Mexican war, from the Mexican war to the Pan American Congress of 1906, and from this last date to the present time.

A discussion followed on the development of American policy towards the Latin American republics with special reference to the Monroe Doctrine. A special report was presented upon the historical background of the Monroe Doctrine, and a second report upon the principles involved in the doctrine and the services it had rendered. The leader of the conference pointed out that the principles of the original Monroe

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Doctrine were quite as vital a part of the policy of the United States at the present day as they were at the time of their publication. It was important to separate the principles of the original doctrine from the additions since made. There was no logical connection between the Monroe Doctrine and a policy of isolation. Nothing in the Monroe Doctrine need therefore prevent the fullest coöperation by the United States in any plan of world organization.

The movement for the federation of the Central American states was discussed from several points of view. The advantages which the states would derive from the union were pointed out and the reasons why the movement deserved the moral support of the United States. There were both strong and weak points in the Pact of Union signed at San José on January 21. Discussion followed upon the work of the convention sitting at Tegucigalpa.

A special report was made on the international situation arising out of the pending dispute between Chili and Peru relative to the status of the province of Tacna-Arica. Discussion followed as to the possibilities of a final settlement and the ways in which it might be accomplished. The pending treaty between the United States and Colombia was discussed both in its historical and in its political aspects, and a special report dealing with the attitude of the Colombian people towards the treaty was presented by a member of the conference from Colombia.

Relations of the United States with Haiti and the Dominican republic raised a variety of questions including a description of the circumstances which had led the United States to intervene in the affairs of the two republics, the difficulties involved in military government, and the problem of securing the cooperation and good will of the civilian population. A final conference dealt with the Mexican situation. Mexican problems, it was pointed out, were primarily social and economic rather than political. The elements of a constructive policy on the part of the United States towards Mexico involved both governmental and non-governmental coöperation. Outstanding differences between the two countries were discussed, as well as the question whether recognition should precede or follow a treaty providing for their settlement.

The conference on "Tariffs and tariff problems" was conducted by Professor F. W. Taussig of Harvard University. Recent developments in British commercial policy were discussed, particularly in connection with the movement in favor of preferential treatment of the colonies and the new measures pending in Parliament for the protection of key-industries and the prevention of dumping. The discussion of

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French tariff problems brought out the system of maximum and minimum duties introduced by the Meline tariff of 1892. A sort of four-schedule system was now being considered with varying rates for different countries. German commercial policy, as exhibited in the Caprivi treaties, had been marked by a system of special negotiations to secure commercial favors with nearby countries.

Clauses of the peace treaty dealing with customs and commercial relations were considered, and the contrast was pointed out between the bilateral character of the provision for most-favored-nation treatment in the treaty of Frankfort and the unilateral character of the guarantee exacted from Germany in Article 264. The connection of the guaranty with the question of reparations was discussed. In the case of Austria the guaranty was qualified so as to permit special customs arrangements with the new states formerly part of the empire.

The tariff history of the United States from 1890–1913 was analyzed and the pending bill discussed in connection with it. The emergency act had raised the whole question of the protection of agricultural products under the permanent act. Radical changes were proposed in the administrative provisions of the act. General reciprocity arrangements had been provided for in the tariff acts of 1890, 1897 and 1909, permitting the President to conclude agreements without the consent of the Senate. The pending bill made provision for reciprocity agreements analogous to those of the act of 1897. Special arrangements had been made with other countries, such as Hawaii before the annexation, and Cuba since 1903. The colonial tariff policies of France, Germany and Great Britain showed contrasting tendencies, varying from the complete open door in the case of German colonies to greater or lesser degrees of preferential treatment by British and French colonies to the mother country.

On the merchant marine question the historical background was presented, and the Jones Act of 1920 was discussed with particular reference to the methods of protecting American shipping. The only way to help shipping, it was said, was by direct subsidy; all nations had come to that decision; discriminating duties could always be met by retaliation; It was a further question whether American shipping needed protection.

The conference on "Treaties of peace, especially the treaty of Versailles" was conducted by Professor J.W. Garner of the University of Illinois. The various methods by which war might be terminated were discussed and special reference was made to the possibility of

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concluding war without a treaty of peace. Assuming that Germany acquiesced in the resolution of Congress and agreed to conclude a special treaty with the United States, it would even then be impossible for the United States to avoid recognizing the treaty of Versailles which had now become the law of the world upon the subjects with which it dealt.

Without the League of Nations the political settlements would have followed more closely the ideas and principles of the past century. French views regarding the left bank of the Rhine and the Saar basin were discussed. The disposition of Alsace-Lorraine was examined, as well as the provision for an independent Austria, and the rejected proposal for the complete dismemberment of Germany. Further discussion centered upon the confiscation of the German colonies and colonial interests, the Shantung question, and the provisions for disarmament by Germany.

Comment was made upon the lack of reciprocity in the economic and financial clauses of the treaty. The American attitude on the trial of the Kaiser was discussed. Stress was laid upon the value of minority protection as a means of rendering unnecessary the practice of the plebiscite in cases where it could not conveniently be held. The elaborate system of international servitudes imposed upon German rivers, canals, and ports was described, together with the difficulties created with respect to German sovereignty, and the means of continuing the privileges granted to the inland states after the expiration of the temporary period.

The two final meetings were devoted to a study of the League of Nations. It was pointed out that the league now comprised the overwhelming majority of the states of the world. The representation of the members in the organs of the league differed in extent, but all the members were under equal legal obligations. The Covenant was already being modified by interpretation and practice and several proposals for amendment were under consideration. The machinery adopted by the league for the preservation of peace remained voluntary, but resort to it was the ultimate object of all the powers of the league. The idea that the league was unimportant or ineffective was thoroughly discredited in view of its standing organization, its rapidly developing functions, and its accomplishments in the first eighteen months of its existence.

The conference on "the preparations question: its international aspects" was conducted by Mr. Norman H. Davis, former under secretary of state. It was pointed out that the agreement on reparations

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reached at London on May 5, although announced as a general settlement, failed to contain three important elements of a definite settlement as originally laid down by the American delegation, namely, the fixation of a sum within Germany's reasonable capacity of payment, the determination of an amount which the creditor nations could afford to receive from her, and an agreement upon a sum which would seem sufficiently reasonable to the investors of the world to induce them to lend money to Germany upon promise of future payment. These three problems formed the subject of group-study, and a fourth section of the conference was appointed to report on the problems of international exchange arising from the reparation payments.

A résumé was given of the development of the reparations problem from the armistice negotiations to date. The organization of the commission on reparation of damages was discussed, together with the wide variety of views as to Germany's capacity to pay. Committee A then reported on the possibilities of Germany being able to produce a large enough surplus to meet the London agreement by establishing a favorable foreign balance. The unreliability of available statistics was pointed out. Markets must also be considered as well as the surplus of production over consumption. It was a doubtful prediction what Germany could be expected to produce twenty or thirty years hence. Committee B showed a division of opinion as to the amount of indemnity the Allies could afford to take. Protectionist and free trade policies were involved. It was hopeless to expect enforcement of the London agreement under the present conditions of protective tariffs and unequal foreign exchange. Committee C presented a discouraging report as to the prospects of a German loan being taken up by investors in the United States. Committee D submitted a proposal for mitigating the severity of the exchange situation. In conclusion Mr. Davis discussed the connection between economic rehabilitation and political conditions. All the financial and economic projects were being held up by the unstable and unnatural character of the political situation. The United States could not afford to be indifferent to the restoration of political stability.

The conference on "the new states of Central Europe" was conducted by Professors A. C. Coolidge and R. H. Lord of Harvard University. Professor Coolidge surveyed the sources and character of the information upon which frontier making was based, the relations of self-determination to geography, together with the ethnic, economic, and linguistic influences that determine nationality. How far did the present situa-

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tion of the Central European nations approximate to a permanent and satisfactory adjustment of frontiers? What was the future of small states and the relation of political sovereignty to economic control?

A general statement of the outstanding problems of the new state of Jugoslavia was presented, followed by reports upon particular aspects of those problems from members of the conference who had been in recent and intimate contact with them. Professor Lord surveyed the composition of the new state of Czechoslovakia with reference to its racial elements. General discussion followed upon the combinations of the different peoples, the validity of census figures, political enthusiasm, and religious influences. Special reports were presented on Carpatho-Ruthenia and Slovakia. The territorial acquisitions of Rumania brought forth divergent opinions, Hungary's claims to the Banat of Temesvar and Russia's claims to Bessarabia being vigorously represented. A special report on the Dobrudja was submitted.

The present situation and future outlook of Poland was the subject of detailed treatment. A survey of the geographical aspects of the new state was followed by an estimate of the economic situation especially with reference to the extent of reconstruction in the textile and metallurgical industries. The important features of the new Polish constitution were outlined and certain legislative measures referred to. Discussion followed upon the agrarian reforms, currency depreciation, military demobilization, the question of religion, and the influence of the nobility upon the present regimé. The factors leading to the establishment of the "corridor" to Danzig were described, and the claims of Poles and Germans in the disputed region were discussed. In like manner Professor Lord gave a history and analysis of the situation in Upper Silesia, East Galicia, and the Vilna area. Attention was called to the Hymans proposal that the Vilna territory should be united with Lithuania with extensive rights of self-government, and that in return Lithuania should agree to a loose union with Poland with respect chiefly to its foreign relations, commerce, and possible military coöperation.

The conference on "the new frontiers in Western Europe and the Near East" was conducted by Professor C. H. Haskins of Havard University and Colonel Lawrence Martin of Washington, D. C. Professor Haskins discussed the sources of information for a study of the Peace Conference, together with the organization and procedure of the conference. Belgian problems were next taken up, with special attention to the relations of Belgium with Germany, and to the Flemish question and the final frontier settlements. Special reports were pre-

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sented on the Schleswig plebiscite, on the coal deposits of Alsace-Lorraine, and on the mineral deposits of the Saar region. A special contribution was made by a former member of the league secretariat dealing with the relation of the Saar administration to the League of Nations.

Colonel Martin gave an outline of the geographical features of international problems, with special reference to those arising out of the peace treaties. The value of maps and the methods of work with maps were discussed. Austrian and Hungarian problems were then taken up. Special reports were presented upon the Klagenfurt plebiscite, the pro-German movement in Austria, railroads and lines of communication in Austria, minorities, and the religious question. The claims and grievances of Hungary were presented, with observations from members of the conference upon the points at issue between Hungary and Slovakia, the racial problem in Rumania, and the new Hungarian-Rumanian frontier. The discussion of the Turkish problem raised the question of the Tchataldja lines, the various claimants to Constantinople, and the secret treaties relating to Asia Minor. The Greek interest in Smyrna was explained and the relation of that city to Anatolia. The difficulties involved in the proposal of an American mandate over Armenia were discussed and the relation of that country to the Caucasus and to Anatolia.

In the study of the problem of mandates the social and territorial aspects were chiefly stressed. The economic development of Syria and Mesopotamia, reasonable profits upon invested capital, sources of wealth, methods of holding the mandatory state to an account of its trusteeship, and the rights of other nations to equality of treatment were taken up. The Russian problem was considered in connection with the question of partition and the boundaries of the border states. The will of the people of the border states rather than historical arguments, it was said, should be the first consideration. It was also important that Great Russia should not be cut off from the sea and left without economic rights. Poland needed Russian raw materials and a Russian market for her goods, hence it was important that friendly relations should not be impeded by a Russia irredenta within the Polish frontiers. It was a question whether Siberia, in view of its potential population and strength, had not better form a separate Asiatic state in order to minimize the danger of a military menace to the world.

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LEGISLATIVE NOTES AND REVIEWS

EDITED BY WALTER F. DODD

Constitutional Revision in Pennsylvania. On September 20 the people of Pennsylvania voted on the question of calling a constitutional convention. As this note was written, the indications were that the result would be in favor of this action, but the unexpected happened, and the vote was against the convention.

In anticipation of the proposed convention there had been prepared what no other constitutional convention has ever had at its opening session—the text of a new constitution containing, when compared with the present constitution, one hundred and thirty changes in substance, a complete rearrangement of articles and sections, and numerous stylistic changes made necessary by a strict adherence throughout to the use of the same words and phrases to describe the same things and ideas, and in connection with each section elaborate notes giving the text of the corresponding section of the present constitution, showing the exact nature of each change suggested, and the reason therefor.

This proposed constitution is the result of over a year's work on the part of a state commission created under an act passed by the legislature of 1919, and entitled the "Commission on Constitutional Amendment and Revision."

The idea of a commission charged with the duty of preparing the way for a constitutional convention by drafting suggested amendments or a suggested revision of the entire constitution, is merely applying to the process of constitution-making a device which has worked successfully in the drafting of other difficult pieces of legislation. For years we have had state commissions to prepare drafts of tax laws, workmen's compensation laws, revisions of various codes or parts of codes, etc., for submission to the state legislature. Such commissions are now a recognized part of the process of drafting legislation. Nevertheless, Pennsylvania is the first state to attempt to add to a convention, which is the recognized legislative body for constitution-making purposes, the machinery of a prior appointed commission charged with the

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duty of drafting amendments or a complete constitution for the consideration of the convention.

The idea of such a commission was first publicly suggested by the Progressive, or, as it was called in Pennsylvania, the Washington party, in 1913. The legislative committee of that party caused to be introduced into the state legislature a series of bills providing for a constitutional convention, and the prior creation of a commission charged with the duty of predigesting the questions which would necessarily be discussed by the convention and submitting drafts of suggested constitutional changes. These acts passed the Pennsylvania house of representatives but failed of passage in the senate.

The movement for a new constitution made no headway in the State until the election of the present Governor, William C. Sproul, in 1918. The constantly increasing desire to tinker with the state constitution by amendment led the new governor to believe that the question of systematic revision of the constitution through the instrumentality of a constitutional convention should be seriously considered. He therefore advocated the creation of a commission to study the question of constitutional amendment and revision, and make report to the legislature setting forth the constitutional changes, if any, which they regarded as advisable, and whether in their opinion these changes should be embodied in a series of amendments or in a revised constitution. A revised constitution would of course involve the calling of a constitutional convention.

It will be perceived that the governor's object in advocating the creation of the commission was twofold: He believed that if the constitution was to be revised, the convention charged with that duty, no matter how distinguished the delegates, to do good work, must have the aid of the results of a prior systematic study of the present constitution in the light of modern thought and conditions. He also believed that the question whether there should be a revision of the constitution was so important, that before it was finally decided by the people, they should have the advice of the best commission which it was in his power to create.

The act creating the commission was passed in June, 1918. When the names of the members appointed by the governor were announced it was found that he had created a commission composed of twenty-three men and two women, leaders in their respective fields of activity. The bar was represented by the attorney-general, William I. Schaffer, who was designated as the chairman of the commission, and several

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of the most distinguished lawyers in the state. Though the majority were Republicans, the leaders of the Democratic party were given places on the commission. There was a representative of organized labor, a college president, the provost of the University of Pennsylvania, representatives of the agricultural and of the business interests of the state, besides Gifford Pinchot, the conservationist and progressive leader, and T. De Witt Cuyler, a leading representative of large financial interests. None criticised the ability of the personnel, taken as a whole, but there was a very general feeling that the commission was unduly weighted on the conservative side, that the report would therefore probably be against any revision of the constitution, and that in any event men of large affairs, and lawyers whose fees ran up into the tens of thousands annually, could not be expected to devote the time necessary to study so important and intricate a subject as the revision of the state constitution.

The result has shown both these criticisms to be unfounded. The commission under the remarkably skillful guidance of its chairman took itself seriously from the start. Its meetings were held in the senate chamber at Harrisburg and were always open to the public. The debates, held with all the formality of a dignified legislative body, were stenographically reported, and are now printed in the "Proceedings of the Commission," the high average ability of the members of the commission making these proceedings the most interesting series of debates on modern state constitutional problems at present in existence.

The commission in the winter of 1920 published and distributed a preliminary draft of the changes in the constitution which appealed to them as worthy of consideration, and subsequently held public hearings which lasted almost a month. The suggestions made at the public hearings were all embodied in definite amendments, each of which was separately considered by the full commission.

When all substantive changes in the present constitution were acted upon by the commission, a committee on style spent several months in re-drafting the entire constitution of the state, except the bill of rights, in which no changes were made, in accordance with uniform rules of style, the main object of the work of the committee being to reduce to a minimum the possibility of controversy over the meaning intended.

When the commission began its labors the great majority of the members believed that the present constitution of the state, with pos-

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sibly a few amendments, would be found sufficient to meet the new conditions which have arisen in the last fifty years. But when the work was done, they all realized that the reasons which impelled them to suggest a complete revision of the state constitution likewise impelled them to urge calling a constitutional convention.

It is not too much to say that the manner in which the commission discharged its duty produced a most favorable impression on the people of the state. The time devoted, the eminence, and on the whole, the decidedly conservative character of its personnel, have been sufficient to convince the average citizen that their conclusion that the state needs a new constitution is based on solid considerations, and not on a mere desire for innovation. Their report also convinced the governor that the state should have a new constitution, and Pennsylvania has not within the memory of the present generation had a governor in whose judgment there is such widespread confidence. His administration has been eminently sucessful. He has gathered into his cabinet representatives of all elements of his party, and the general character of the executive personnel of the state departments is high. In Pennsylvania what Sproul wants has usually been found to be right.

If the convention had been called it was to be constituted as provided in the act of assembly adopted by the legislature last winter. This act contains a feature which is new to American state constitution-making. While ninety-six delegates would be elected from congressional districts, twenty-five delegates-at-large would be appointed by the governor, and the governor announced that so far as they were willing to serve he expected to appoint the members of the commission. There was considerable discussion over this feature of the bill. Against the appointment of the delegates-at-large it was urged that a constitutional convention was a convention of the representatives of the people, and that to have it contain members appointed by the executive would constitute a dangerous precedent. Those who supported the provision pointed out that delegates-at-large could be nominated in one of two ways only; by party convention or by direct primary; that in either case a small group of leaders in each party would control the nominations because the number of delegates to be elected and the size of the electorate made it impossible for individual voters or groups of voters to have an effective voice. It was further pointed out that the electorate would have a much better chance to pass intelligently on the question of whether they desired a convention at all if they knew who the delegates-at-large were going to be, and that finally a convention only drafted a constitution for submission to the people who could adopt or reject it.

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Without entering further into the merits of this controversy it is clear that the provision insures the presence in the convention of a group of eminent delegates who have devoted time and study to state constitutional questions. It also makes more than probable what otherwise might be very doubtful, namely, that the convention will on assembling take up at once the consideration, section by section, of the constitution proposed by the commission, because that constitution will have been reported by what will have become a committee composed of twenty-five eminent members of the convention. All students of recent constitutional conventions will hope that the report of the commission and the presence in the convention of its members will make it unnecessary for the convention to divide itself into small committees on the legislature, the judiciary, public utilities, municipalities, etc., and that thus the convention will be able to get to work at once on the more important problems that confront it.

If the convention takes up, section by section, the report of the commission, this will not mean that the convention will adopt all or even the greater part of the changes recommended by the commission, or refuse to make a change not recommended. Although it is true that there was extraordinary unanimity on the part of the members of the commission in respect to the changes suggested in their proposed constitution, it is also true that there is not a member of the commission who agrees with every change proposed. Nevertheless, the proposed constitution forms a better basis for discussion by the convention of the constitutional problems in which the people of the state are interested than the existing constitution of the state, because it contains definite suggestions for the solution of a majority of these problems. One may not agree with the great majority of the solutions of modern state constitutional questions suggested, but the great advantage of having the convention direct its attention to the report of the commission, both in the saving of time and in the increased clarity of the issues presented, is evident.

The critical moment in the convention will come when the vote is taken on the motion to go into the committee on the whole to take under consideration the report of the commission section by section. If that vote is adopted, the constitution ultimately drafted by the convention may be a very different document from that suggested by the commission, but Pennsylvania will have set a precedent in state constitution-making which, in the writer's opinion, will do much to preserve respect for the constitutional convention as the method of revising

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our state constitutional law, and this because the work of the commission will have made it possible for the convention to do, what has not been done by any state constitutional convention for many decades—draft a short, concise and clear state constitution, which will deal as far as it is advisable for a constitution to deal, with the modern complicated problems of state and local government.

A word as to the character of the constitution recommended by the commission.

The members taken as a whole were not interested in experiments or changes in what may be termed the machinery of government. There is practically little or no sentiment in the state for the initiative, or even for that most conservative of change-blocking devices the referendum. There is no provision for either in the proposed constitution. On the other hand, the members of the commission were interested in removing any obstacle in the present constitution to the development of the material prosperity of the state or the adequate prosecution of public works. Provisions were inserted enabling the state by popular vote to borrow one hundred and fifty million dollars for the construction of roads and twenty-five millions for the purchase and conservation of forest lands. Again, under the present constitution it is impossible in taking land for public improvement to assess the benefits on any land, no matter how much enhanced in value, which does not abut on the improvement. Neither is it possible in making a public improvement to take more land than it is proposed to retain, and resell the excess subject to restrictions protective of the public purpose for which the land is taken. By unanimous vote provisions doing away with these restrictions were adopted. Though the problems of state taxation remain unsolved, and the commission refused to sanction progressive taxation, it has incorporated provisions which if adopted will require the state government to operate under an executive budget system.

Pennsylvania gives more annually to charitable institutions not under the control of the state or municipal governments than is given by all the other states of the United States taken together. Whether such gifts should be indefinitely continued was much debated. A minority of the commission desired to insert a provision to the effect that after 1926 no money should be appropriated for the support of charitable, benevolent or educational institutions not owned and controlled by the state or a municipal government. The majority, however, believed that the system should be continued with radical modifications. The provisions suggested, while doing away with

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the existing system of stating in the appropriation act a definite sum to be paid to a designated institution, permits the classification of institutions not under the control of the state, and an appropriation of a lump sum to any one class, the appropriation to be divided among the members of the class in accordance with a plan uniform in its operation as among the members of the class. The plan of distribution among the members of a class is to be set forth in an appropriation act or by an agency created by law, as the department of public welfare.

I have here only given examples of the general character of the substantive changes recommended by the commission. The stylistic changes in the proposed constitution, taken as a whole, form an important part of their work. The constitution of Pennsylvania, drafted in the last part of the eighteenth century, was comparatively short, and from the stylistic point of view well written. Since then the successive additions, while in many cases embodying vitally important and valuable substantive changes, have shown a marked deterioration in style. Long involved sentences, the use of the same words or phrases in different senses, the tendency to deal with new subjects, as local government, in several different parts of the constitution, all unite to increase its length and multiply these problems of construction which can only be determined by extensive and time-consuming litigation.

The commission determined to follow a few simple rules of style: that the same word should not be employed in two different senses; that the same thing should not be designated by one word in one section and by another word in another section; that the same idea should always be expressed by the same combination of words. To adopt these rules in drafting new sections, or sections in which substantive changes were proposed, and fail to revise the language of the remaining sections of the constitution in which as stated there is an entire lack of uniformity in the language used, would do little to decrease existing confusions and uncertainties. To make the use of language uniform throughout the constitution, the commission were therefore obliged to make stylistic changes in sections in which no substantive change is recommended. The result of their painstaking stylistic revision is that the substantive provisions of the proposed constitution are expressed in clear and concise English. Whatever substantive provisions the convention may ultimately embody in the constitution which they will recommend to the people, if they adhere to the "style" of the constitution proposed by the commission there will hereafter be comparatively little litigation to determine what the constitution means. When

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we consider the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent on litigation in the United States annually to determine the meaning of constitutional provisions, this in itself, whatever the nature of the substantive provisions of Pennsylvania's new constitution, will be a great gain.

WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS.

Philadelphia.

The Louisiana Constitutional Convention. In 1913 a constitution was adopted for the state of Louisiana, which, although superseding the constitution of 1898, nevertheless declared the provisions of that constitution to be in effect unless specifically repealed by or inconsistent with the new instrument.[1] When the supreme court of Louisiana nullified many of the provisions of the constitution of 1913, on the ground that the convention had exceeded its limited powers, there were thus, in effect, two constitutions for the state of Louisiana. Certain provisions of the constitution of 1913 remained valid, while in other matters the constitution of 1898 was restored as the fundamental law.

The confusion and uncertainty thus caused led to immediate agitation for a new constitution, and the legislature of 1915 passed an act calling a convention, which call was, however, rejected on submission to the people. Succeeding legislatures thereupon sought to cure the defects in the fundamental law through amendments, and a total of 31 were submitted and ratified. These seemed merely to add to the confusion, however, the defects being especially serious in the judicial system—some of the courts were behind their docket, some unable to function properly, and some practically idle.

The demand for a new constitution was therefore continued, being pressed especially by the Bar Association and by business and commercial organizations. Governor Parker and his opponent for the nomination in 1919 both made the calling of an unlimited convention one of their principal platform demands, and a call for such a convention, submitted by the legislature of 1920, was approved by a large majority at the polls.

The convention thus called assembled at Baton Rouge March 1, 1921, and adjourned June 18, having been in session 110 days. It was composed of 146 delegates, among them three women. Altho not distinguished by any dominant leadership and not producing any outstanding figure, it would probably average high in personnel, including among its members, for example, two former governors—

[1] Constitution of Louisiana, 1913, Art. 326, Cl. 6, in Kettleborough, *State Constitutions*, 587.

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R. G. Pleasant and J. Y. Sanders. No special work of any kind seems to have been done to prepare the members for their work, such as has been done in other states holding recent conventions, and the new Louisiana constitution, altho a creditable instrument, probably reflects that neglect in some degree.

Only three limitations were imposed by the legislature upon the convention of 1921: (1) prohibiting any interference with the debt of the state or any of its subdivisions; (2) prohibiting the shortening of the term of any public officer; (3) prohibiting the removal of the state capital. Acting on the theory that it was a sovereign body with practically unlimited powers, the convention itself, by ordinance, extended the time limit of 75 days imposed by the legislature, and, to meet expenses, ordered a loan of $100,000, in addition to the legislative appropriation of $200,000. It also made the new constitution effective July 1, 1921, without submission to the people (this being expressly authorized, however, in the act calling the convention), and called a special 75-day session of the legislature, to meet on the first Tuesday in September.

The constitution thus framed and adopted is very similar to the constitution of 1913. They are almost identical in length, each making up a pamphlet of 127 pages. Both subject matter and language are also practically identical in most respects, the new constitution being, however, somewhat more systematically arranged. The new instrument is also clearly as much subject to criticism as the old in being largely statutory in character rather than basic and fundamental—so much so that during the course of the convention 24 delegates united in a resolution of protest against the making of "a long and cumbersome constitution containing matter legislative in character."

The outstanding features of the new constitution seem to be the reorganization of the judiciary, the provisions for education, the creation of a good roads system, and the revision of the suffrage. The judicial system is thoroughly reorganized; the supreme court is enlarged and permitted to sit in divisions, and given supervisory powers over inferior courts; the terms and salaries are increased throughout the entire system, there is a complete judicial reapportionment, and provision is made for the massing of judges when the burden of work becomes too great for any one of the higher courts; a department of justice is also created, consisting of the attorney-general and two assistants, with supervision and a considerable measure of control over the district attorneys and their work (VII).

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With regard to education, unusually liberal provision is made, especially for the university and agricultural college, the entire system (except the university) is centralized under the control of the state board of education, and the state superintendent is made elective by that board (XII).

To provide for the construction and maintenance of hard surface roads, a large highway fund is created by providing for a heavy license tax on motor vehicles (and on other vehicles at the discretion of the legislature) and a tax of two cents per gallon on gasoline (and on other explosives for the generation of motive power, at the discretion of the legislature), all of which is to be expended under the supervision of the board of state engineers (VI, 19).

With regard to the suffrage, the principal feature, in addition to the removal of the sex qualification, is the addition of the "reasonable interpretation" and "understanding" provision of the Mississippi constitution, as well as a "good character" clause (VIII, 1). There is also a stringent anti-bribery clause (VIII, 23), and the legislature is authorized to provide for absentee voting (VIII, 22).

Other features of the new constitution are also of considerable importance. With regard to the legislature, the maximum number of members is reduced, in the house from 120 to 101, in the senate from 41 to 39 (III, 2, 3); the length of the legislative session (60 days) is unchanged, but no bills may be introduced after the first 30 days, except in case of emergency (III, 8); a method is provided by which special sessions may be called, even tho the governor fails to act (V, 14); and the pocket veto is abolished (V, 16). There is also a provision against logrolling (III, 30); and a legislative bureau is created, consisting of the attorney-general and one member from each house, to examine and report "as to construction, duplication, legality, and constitutionality" of all legislative measures, before final passage. (III, 31).

The executive department is constituted as before, except for a few changes in title and functions of some administrative boards, and with the number of independent, constitutional offices actually increased. However, the movement towards reorganization and centralization, begun in other states, has apparently also made some headway in Louisiana, for all the executive and administrative offices (except the governor, lieutenant-governor, treasurer, and secretary of state) are made subject to merger or consolidation by the legislature (III, 32; V, 1).

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Other provisions of some importance may be noted: Salaries of public officers are generally increased, and altho fixed in most cases by the constitution, may be changed by a two-thirds vote of the legislature (III, 34); an income tax is provided for (X, 1); the recall may be authorized by the legislature (IX, 9); the legislature is required to provide optional plans for the organization of parish (county) government (XIV, 3); the power of the courts to punish for contempt of court is limited (XIX, 17); alien ownership of land is prohibited (XIX, 21); voluntary arbitration (III, 36), a minimum wage for women and children (IV, 7), and a system of mothers' pensions (XVIII, 5) are authorized. No provision is made for future revision by a convention, and the method of amendment provided is similar to that in the former instrument, except that amendments (just as bills) must be introduced within the first 30 days of the session (XXI, 1). The new constitution is definitely declared to supersede the constitutions of 1898 and 1913, except where otherwise specifically provided (XXII, 1, cl. 7).

It is difficult to make any estimate at this time of the Louisiana convention of 1921, or of the instrument framed by it. Certainly the defects in the new constitution are many, not the least of which is the fact that it is to a considerable extent statutory rather than organic in its character. Neither does it fulfill the expectations of those who had hoped for a progressive and forward-looking instrument. Ex-Governor Pleasant, for example, refused to sign the new constitution because he claimed it had been in part dictated by special interests.[2] At least one other delegate likewise refused to sign. On the other hand, Governor Parker, whom progressives have delighted to honor, warmly endorsed the work of the convention as "generally patriotic and thorough, as well as efficient," and characterized the constitution as not perfect, but one that would confer material benefits on the people.[3] The public opinion of Louisiana seems, in general to reflect this view.

CLARENCE A. BERDAHL.

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The New Civil Administrative Code of Washington. In 1917 the legislature of Illinois, upon the recommendation of Governor Lowden, enacted a civil administrative code, which has attracted nation-wide attention. Such has been the success of this code that a number of states have enacted similar codes. Among these states is Washington.

[2] Statement in *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, June 19, 1921.
[3] *Ibid.*

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Governor Lowden in his inaugural address in 1917 pointed out the lack of unity, the lack of systematic organization and of responsibility of the state government of Illinois, with its large number of boards, commissions, and officers. He pointed out the need of consolidation and of centralization. Said Governor Lowden: "Under the present system of confusion and perplexity, the governor cannot exercise the supervision and control which the people have a right to demand."

A like condition of affairs prevailed in the government of the State of Washington. To Governor Louis F. Hart belongs the chief credit for the enactment of a code on the main lines of that of Illinois and of Nebraska. Upon Governor Hart's suggestion the special session of the legislature of 1920 authorized him to have such a code drawn to be presented to the regular session of 1921. In the preparation of this code Governor Hart had the assistance of Attorney-General L. L. Thompson, of L. D. McArdle, known for his intimate knowledge of our state government, and of Hon. Charles Gleason, an expert draftsman and attorney of Seattle. This code after consideration by the legislature was enacted into law, with slight change.

The Civil Administrative Code is entitled, "An act relating to, and to promote efficiency, order and economy in, the administration of the government of the state, prescribing the powers and duties of certain officers and departments, defining offenses and fixing penalties, abolishing certain offices, and repealing conflicting acts and parts of acts."

The act creates ten departments of the state government and over each department there is a chief executive officer known as a director. The ten departments are as follows: public works, business control, efficiency, taxation and examination, health, conservation and development, labor and industries, agriculture, licenses, fisheries and game. Each director is nominated by the governor and confirmed by the senate.

The act also creates nine administrative committees of three members each and composed of the elective state officers. These nine committees are: state equalization, state finance, state highway, state capitol, state archives, state parks, state voting machine, state law library, state library.

The governor and the ten appointed directors are to constitute the administrative board. The governor is the chairman. In popular language this board is called the governor's cabinet. The act gives it the power to adopt general rules for the transaction of business of

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the board. A majority of those present at any meeting of the board is given the power to determine and advise as to questions of policy in the administration of any of the departments of the state government created by this act. It is made the duty of the board to systematize and unify the duties of the various departments of the state government created by this act; to classify subordinate offices, departments and institutions; to determine the salaries and compensation of subordinate officers and employees; to authorize in cases of emergency, any institution, state officer or department of the state government to incur liabilities to carry on their work until the meeting of the legislature.

Each office created by this act became established on the first day of April. The salaries of the directors are to be fixed by the governor. Each director is given power to make rules for his own department not inconsistent with state law. Each department is to maintain its principal office at the state capital, but branch offices may be established at other points in the state. While the governor is to nominate each director, the director names his own chief assistants, and these assistants select their own subordinates.

The first department named in the act is that of public works, with three divisions, as follows: (1) The division of transportation, whose head is to be known as the supervisor of transportation; (2) the division of public utilities at the head of which is the supervisor of public utilities; (3) the division of highways at the head of which is the supervisor of highways. The act requires the latter to be an experienced constructing highway engineer. Through the division of transportation the director of public works is to exercise the powers and perform the duties relating to common carriers of freight or passengers now performed by the public service commission. Through the division of public utilities the director of public works is to exercise the powers heretofore performed by the public service commission relating to grain inspection, bridges, public utilities, and many other lines. The director of public works and the supervisors of transportation and of public utilities are jointly to hear and decide all matters deemed of sufficient importance to require their joint action. An appeal from any such joint decision may be made to any court of competent jurisdiction. The director of public works is also to exercise the powers heretofore performed by the state highway commissioner.

The second department named is that of business control, with five divisions, at the head of each of which there is an assistant director.

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These five divisions are as follows: Division of administration; division of purchasing, the assistant director of which is called the supervisor of purchasing and who must be a citizen of this state and have had practical experience in commercial pursuits; the division of farm management whose duty it is to make a survey of the lands connected with the state institutions and to determine which is best suited for agricultural, horticultural dairying and stock raising purposes, and to establish and carry on suitable farming at the several institutions and to supply the state institutions with the food products produced on the state lands; division of industrial management, whose duty it is to operate at the several state institutions such industries and industrial plants as may be most suitable and beneficial to the inmates thereof and can be operated at the least relative cost and the greatest relative benefit to the state, to supply the several institutions with the necessary industrial products produced thereat, to exchange with or furnish to other state institutions industrial products at the cost of production; division of public buildings and grounds, whose duty it is to prepare topographical and architectural plans for the state institutions under the control of the department and for the state capitol buildings where not already prepared, to prepare plans for all necessary repairs of state buildings and to supervise the erection, repair, and betterment of all such state buildings.

The director of business control is given authority to select from the faculty of the university or the state college of Washington a state dietitian, to advise the department as to the quantity, comparative cost, and food values, of proper diets for the inmates of the state institutions under the control of the department. The division of purchasing is authorized by this act to purchase all the supplies for the support and maintenance of the state institutions. It is through this division that the friends of the Civil Administrative Code believe that the code will make the greatest saving to the taxpayers of the state through skillful buying, discounts, purchases in large quantities and in various other ways. The director of this department is given the power to establish at the state capital a warehouse or storeroom for the storage and distribution of supplies purchased for the elective state officers, the supreme court, and the administrative and other departments of the state government located at the state capital.

The duties of the third department, that of efficiency, may be summarized as follows: The inspection of all public offices of the state and all state educational, penal, benevolent and reformatory institutions

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and all offices, departments and agencies of state government which heretofore have been under the supervision of the state auditor, bureau of inspection and supervision of public offices. (2) To make efficiency surveys of all the state departments and institutions and of the business methods pursued therein. (3) To make confidential reports to the governor of the workings, especially financial, of all the state institutions. (4) To prepare the biennial statement of each department as the basis for the state budget. (5) To prepare and recommend to the administrative board a system of classification, salaries, and compensation for all subordinate officers and employees of the state offices, departments and institutions other than educational institutions.

The fourth department, that of taxation and examination, is to consist of three divisions, taxation, banking, and municipal corporations. At the head of each division is a supervisor who has authority to appoint the necessary assistants. Through the division of taxation the director is authorized to perform the duties heretofore performed by the state tax commissioner, and to make a record of all classes of property, real, personal, and mixed, tangible and intangible, throughout the state. Through the division of banking, the director of taxation is authorized to take over the duties of the bank commissioner and the supervision of building and loan associations heretofore performed by the state auditor. Through the division of municipal corporations, the director of taxation is authorized to inspect the public offices of counties, cities, towns, townships, taxing and assessing districts and other municipal corporations.

The director of health is required to be an experienced physician. He with four other persons appointed by the governor constitute the state board of health. The secretary of this board is to be the state registrar of vital statistics. The director is authorized to appoint the necessary deputies, experts, sanitary engineers, quarantine officers and local registrars. It is made the duty of the director of health at least once each six months to inspect each of the state institutions from the standpoint of sanitary and health conditions, and to require the governing authority of each institution to make any changes desired. In addition to the state board of health, the Civil Administrative Code creates an institutional board of health composed of the director of health and the head physicians of the woman's industrial home, the state custodial school and of the three state hospitals for the insane, and one woman physician to be appointed by the governor. It is the duty of this board to visit each state institution represented on the board and

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advise the superintendent thereof regarding the general care and treatment of inmates, and to provide a proper diet for the various classes of inmates of such state institutions. As the duties of this board are merely advisory, the superintendent of each institution is not compelled by the act to carry out the suggestions of the board.

The sixth department is that of conservation and development, with five divisions, each with a supervisor at the head: forestry, geology, reclamation, Columbia Basin survey, hydraulics. The director of conservation takes over the work of the former state board of state forest commissioners and of the state forester. He takes over from the governor the powers relating to the suspension of the open season for shooting game. The division of geology takes over the duties heretofore performed by the board of geological survey and the duties of the state geologist. The division of reclamation takes over the duties of the former state reclamation board.

The seventh department is that of labor and industries, with three divisions: industrial insurance, safety, and industrial relations, each with a supervisor at its head. The supervisor of the division of industrial relations has the power to appoint a female assistant to be known as the supervisor of women in industry. The division of industrial insurance takes over the duties heretofore performed by the industrial insurance department, the state medical aid board, the local aid boards. Questions requiring joint action are decided by the director of labor, the supervisor of industrial insurance and the supervisor of safety. The division of safety takes over the duties of the state safety board, and the inspection duties heretofore performed by the commissioner of labor, the state mine inspectors, and the former public service commission, the making of rules for the use and the construction of electrical apparatus heretofore performed by the public service commission, the duties formerly belonging to the inspector of hotels and the bureau of labor. The division of industrial relations is charged with the settlement of industrial disputes. It must keep in touch with problems of industrial relations and make recommendations to the legislature. It must do the statistical work formerly done by the secretary of state, make special investigations and supervise all laws relating to the employment of women and minors, with the assistance of the supervisor of women in industry. The director of this department, the three supervisors and the supervisor of women in industry, are constituted a committee to take over the work formerly done by the industrial welfare commission, which was chiefly to

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enforce the minimum wage law for women. Owing to a controversy arising in 1920 between the employees and the employers the work of this department has been at a standstill for about a year. It is shortly to be resumed.

The eighth department is that of agriculture, with the following divisions: agriculture, horticulture, dairy and livestock, foods, feeds, drugs and oils, weights and measures. Each of the five divisions has a supervisor appointed by the director of the department. The director of agriculture supersedes the former commissioner of agriculture. The duties of each of the five divisions are fairly well indicated by their names. The new code transfers the fifth division or weights and measures from the office of secretary of state to the director of agriculture.

The ninth department is that of licenses. It has no subdivisions, but the director is authorized to appoint the necessary assistants. The director is authorized to perform the duties formerly exercised by the following state boards: accountancy, architects' examiners, barbers, chiropody, chiropractic, dental, drugless, embalmers', medical, mining, nurses, optometry, osteopathy, pharmacy, veterinary, except the receiving of fees. The times and places for holding examinations are fixed by the director of licenses, as well as the establishing of general rules, prescribing the methods of conducting such examinations. It is made the duty of the governor at the request of the director of licenses to appoint three persons to conduct the examinations of the applicants to practice the various professions and callings for which licenses are required. Instead of paying the fees to these various licensing committees the fee is to be paid directly to the treasurer of the state. This principle runs throughout the Civil Administrative Code. The law makes it the duty of the secretary of the department of licenses to notify the holders of licenses of the expiration of such license thirty days before the expiration thereof. Licenses may be revoked by the director and two persons appointed by the governor. Among the powers of the director of licenses are the issuance of licenses heretofore issued by the fish commissioner, licenses relating to breeding and selling of wild animals and birds, licenses to itinerant peddlers, licenses to aliens to carry firearms, licenses to corporations, motor vehicle licenses, licenses to electrical experts. An appeal from any decision as to licenses may be taken to the superior court of Thurston county.

The tenth department is that of fisheries and game, with two divisions: fisheries, and game and game fish. Each of these has a super-

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visor. In addition the governor is authorized to appoint a board of three men having a general knowledge of fish and fisheries of the waters of Washington and the adjacent states to constitute the state fisheries board. This board is authorized from time to time to make, adopt, amend, and promulgate rules governing the taking of food fishes. Section 111 of the code repeals as statutes all laws referred to in the preceding sentence, but makes them operative until amended or repealed by the state fisheries board. This section was among those most bitterly attacked during the course of the passage of the bill. Any person violating any rules of the state fisheries board is guilty of a gross misdemeanor. To be eligible to appointment as supervisor of fisheries a practical knowledge of propagation of fish is made necessary. The same rule is to apply to the supervisor of game and gamefish. Since fishing is one of the large industries of Washington, especially of Columbia River and the Puget Sound regions, the sections of the law relating to this department were very carefully watched and bitterly contested while the bill was on its passage.

In case of the absence or disability of the director of any department, he is authorized to designate one of the assistant directors to act, and in case of a vacancy to act until the governor fills the vacancy. The state tax commissioner having been abolished, the duties heretofore devolving upon him in relation to inheritance tax and escheats are to be performed by the attorney-general.

All officers whose duties are abolished by this act are to continue to perform the same until removed or transferred to some other department. Any question or business which has been taken up by any officer previous to April 1, will be continued and attended to by the department in which it would properly fall. Any order, rule or regulation previously enforced is to continue until revoked by the proper department. All existing contracts and obligations of any existing department of the state government are to remain in full force and effect and to be observed by the proper departments under the new code. All reports required to be made under the existing law, are required to be made by the proper department under the new code.

The last section, number 138, declares an emergency and that the act should take effect immediately upon its passage, since the revenues of the state were insufficient to support the state government and its existing public institutions as at present organized, and as it was desired to bring the cost of supporting the state government within the possible

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revenues of the state. April 1 was set as the day for the actual going into operation of the new code. This emergency declaration has been sustained by the supreme court of Washington.

WALTER S. DAVIS.

Senator, 27th District, Tacoma.

Administrative Consolidation in California.[1] California's administrative reorganization began in 1919, when the department of agriculture was established to take over the work of eight separate offices. Further consolidation has now been secured by a group of bills which were passed by the legislature this year, going into effect July 30. Seventy-five boards, commissions, and officers have been consolidated into seven departments, each made up of divisions performing similar or related functions. These divisions represent, largely, the formerly unrelated agencies of state government in California.

The head of each department or the board administering the same, is appointed by the governor and is given, subject to the approval of the chief executive, complete power to appoint all division chiefs and assistants, and to organize or reorganize the work of the department or create additional divisions as may be necessary. In this way both flexibility of arrangement and concentration of authority are secured.

The salaries of the heads of departments and divisions created by the act, are specified in the laws. The highest sum paid to any one officer in the seven departments is $10,000 to the director of public works. The heads of the departments of agriculture and finance receive $5,000, as do the chiefs of important divisions in these same departments. The civil service director is paid $4,000. A few of the division chiefs in other departments receive the same amount, but all other salaries stated in the law are below this level.

The seven executive agencies and the department heads are:

1. Department of Civil Service, under a director, and two associate commissioners.
2. Department of Finance, under the board of control.
3. Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, under a departmental council.
4. Department of Public Works, under a director.
5. Department of Institutions, under a director.

[1] Cf. James R. Douglas, *The Research Activities of Departments of the State Government of California in Relation to the Movement for Reorganization.* Bulletin of the National Research Council, II, pt. 5, June, 1921.

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6. Department of Education, under a director.
7. Department of Agriculture, under a director.

In the department of agriculture, no change was made this year, except in the addition of two new functions, and when codified this department will take its proper place in the code with the other departments. The administration of the civil service law remains practically the same, except that one of the three commissioners in charge of the department devotes his entire time to the work and receives a larger salary than formerly, while the other two are merely associates on a per diem basis.

Similarly, in finance, little actual change has been made, but to increase the powers exercised by the board of control, which is continued under the new law and constituted the governing body of the department of finance. Its three members are the heads, respectively, of the divisions of claims and disbursements, budgets and accounts, purchase and custody. Preparation of the budget lies with the member in charge of that division, but in final determination the board will act as a whole. Certain miscellaneous offices are also included in this department under division chiefs appointed by the board of control.

In the department of labor and industry there is no reorganization, merely coördination. Four agencies, the industrial accident commission, the commission of immigration and housing, the industrial welfare commission and the bureau of labor statistics, are combined into one department. The existing boards are continued, each as a division of the department, and each appoints a representative to the departmental council created for the purpose of eliminating conflict of authority and duplication of activity. The law further provides that the department shall submit to the governor and legislature, prior to its next session, a plan for complete reorganization of the activities of the present divisions of the department.

Each of the departments of public works, institutions, and education, is, like the department of agriculture, placed under a director. Most of the existing boards are continued in an advisory capacity, and constitutional offices which could not be abolished by statute, are brought into the scheme by consolidating new positions with old. For instance, the state superintendent of public instruction, an elected officer, is ex-officio director of the department of education and the state board of education is placed in charge of the division of text-books. Within these departments are appropriate divisions, some under single exec-

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utive officers, others under commissions. The internal organization of the seven departments varies somewhat, according to the functions to be performed and also according to the number of old employees who must find their places under the so-called reorganization plan.

The new laws provide a scheme of government which makes an excellent organization chart, but one which cannot be counted upon greatly to relieve the present grievous pressure on the pocket books of burdened taxpayers. It does not abolish existing offices, of which there are far too many, but merely effects a union in the departments concerned which will doubtless tend to promote efficiency in service. A great many of the state's activities, including the regulation of public utilities and corporations and the supervision of banks, insurance companies, and building and loan societies are not touched by the legislation of this year.

JOSEPHINE HOYT.

University of California.

What was done in California in 1921 amounted to little more than a somewhat elaborate attempt to seem to do something without doing it. So far as they go, the changes are in the right direction, but they cover only a few services and make no drastic changes as to these. A situation which demanded a radical operation has been treated with a poultice. The following statements may properly be made as to the reorganization of 1921:

1. The changes in the administration of the civil service amount only to making one of the commissioners a full salaried executive head.

2. The so-called department of labor and industrial relations is not a department at all, but merely a formal association of certain existing authorities.

3. Most of the important functions of the department of public works were formerly under the direction of the state engineer, so that the change effected in this field is more verbal than real.

4. The department of education is a make-shift arrangement centering on an elected officer.

5. The department of agriculture had already been established in 1919.

6. The reorganization effected in the matter of finance amounts to little else than more precise definition and formal legal recognition of powers already exercised by the board of control.

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7. The only real consolidation effected is in the department of institutions.

It is to be hoped that this petty tinkering will not be allowed to delay genuine reform.

THOMAS H. REED.

University of California.

State Reorganization in Michigan. Michigan has recently undergone a make-shift state reorganization, in an effort to untangle a government whose complications were only equaled by some of the southern commonwealths.

Michigan government has been inexpensive until recent times, but has also been ineffective. It is reported that the previous organization has consisted of more than 116 distinct governmental units, which, with the use of ex-officio boards and the dissipation of authority over similar services, has scattered responsibility and made action impossible. For example, responsibility and authority for dealing with state financial problems has been distributed among every state official and board, except the lieutenant governor. Problems relating to trade and commerce have been divided among thirteen authorities. Education and related questions have been dealt with by five elective officials and boards and twenty-seven other authorities. Welfare activities were distributed among at least thirty officials.

In consequence, practically every elective official was a member of numerous ex-officio boards, in the operations of which he could take no active part. The state superintendent of public instruction, primarily responsible for the supervision of the public schools of Michigan, and a member of numerous educational boards, was also a member of the board of geological survey, the war preparedness board, the board of state auditors, the board of state canvassers, the office building board, public domain commission, the board of fund commissioners, the board of escheats, the board of control of state swamp lands, the board of claims of public land sales, and the state board of agriculture.

This situation was well understood by persons interested in government, and in 1920 the Michigan Community Council Commission, through the Institute for Public Service of New York City, presented a 200 page report dealing with Michigan's government and making tentative recommendations for reorganization. The newly elected governor, Mr. Alex J. Groesbeck, was fully aware of the shortcomings

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of the state government and had in mind a reorganization program of his own. For this reason the program of the Community Council Commission was not specifically urged, in a desire not to embarrass the governor's proposals.

There is every reason to believe that the governor went into office with the intention of bringing about a through reorganization. There was no announced program, but several measures were introduced, with rumor of additional bills to follow.

After a time political opposition reached a point where apparently it seemed unwise to make further suggestions and the program was discontinued in an unfinished state.

The results of legislation secured are the creation of a state administrative board to have general supervision of all state activities, and the creation of five large departments to assume the duties formerly performed by thirty-three ex-officio boards or semi-independent officials. The state administrative board correlates the activities of the governor, the secretary of state, the state treasurer, the auditor general, the attorney-general, highway commissioner, and the superintendent of public instruction. This board has large supervisory powers over the activities of all other state departments. However, the governor retains appointive power over all principal subordinates, and has certain veto powers over the acts of the board. It has been understood that a constitutional amendment would be submitted providing for the abolition of a number of these elected officials, and for their appointment by the governor. If such intention ever existed, it was not carried out and this administrative board remains as a compromise with the short ballot principle. There are evidences, however, that the board has accomplished results. It is reported that they have assumed large authority over public expenditures, have investigated the activities of state departments, and discontinued a number of unnecessary positions.

The five departments created include the department of agriculture, under a single commissioner; the department of conservation, with a seven member board and a single commissioner; the department of labor, with three salaried commissioners; the department of public safety, with a single commissioner; and a department of welfare, with one commissioner and a seventeen member board. There is particular skepticism as to whether the anomalous situation as between non-salaried boards and salaried commissioners, as provded in the department of conservation and the department of welfare, will operate suc-

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cessfully, especially as the non-salaried members and the salaried commissioners receive their appointment from the same source, the governor. Under these circumstances, it is questionable how far one may be critical of the other.

The department of public welfare, which assumes the duties of the state board of correction and charities, also has supervision over seventeen state institutions. However, these institutions are divided into four groups, each in immediate charge of a non-salaried board. These groups have charge of hospitals, prisons, the industrial schools, and the schools for educating the handicapped. In the recent past there have been biennial exposes of mal-administration in some of these institutions, ranging from financial defalcations to cruelty to inmates. If a single cause could be attached to these periodic criticisms, it would be that the members of the board of trustees living away from the institutions, and engaged in their own affairs, have not given proper care to the activities of the institutions. How far will this difficulty be obviated when, instead of a single institution, these boards have from three to seven institutions to supervise? How far can a single board commissioner detect mal-administration in a group of seventeen institutions? If mal-administration is detected, what corrective measures can be applied, when immediate responsibility lies with the board receiving their appointment from the governor?

A chart of state government under its reorganization indicates that there will remain sixteen ex-officio or semi ex-officio boards with considerable power, seven state departments, in addition to the five principal departments created, eleven examining boards, three centers of educational authority, and eight boards having control over important state activities. The thirty-three other departments have been merged into the five large departments created. But now in place of a single line of authority running from the governor to the appointee, there runs a double line of authority, that of appointment from the governor, and that of supervision from the new state board of administration.

The experience of the state administrative board as a means of correlating the authority of elected officials may be of interest to the student in government. The other efforts at state reorganization are hardly worth consideration.

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Detroit, Michigan.

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The Illinois Legislative Session of 1921. The session of the Fifty-second General Assembly of Illinois which ended in June was memorable mainly for its meteoric finish, in which the legislature was aroused from a state of docile obedience to political bosses to unexpected assertion of its independence and self-respect. After suffering themselves to be controlled for five months by the state organization, many legislators became deeply disgusted with the objectionable methods of the organization leaders and rebelled with such effect that the most cherished administration measures failed of enactment.

Through the united efforts of Fred Lundin, former lieutenant of Lorimer; Mayor William Hale Thompson of Chicago, his political protege; and Len Small, governor of Illinois by virtue of his alliance with these two, one of their adherents was made speaker of the house at the beginning of the session and a safe margin of control was established in both branches. These results were accomplished partly by utilizing the good will many reputable down-state Republican members naturally felt for a newly elected Republican governor; and partly, it is alleged, by the lavish use of state patronage. Such administration measures as were brought to an early vote were passed through both houses with little difficulty.

Among these was a joint resolution calling upon the President and Congress to put into effect "policies" advocated by Mayor Thompson and Governor Small during the last state campaign and subsequently set forth in the governor's inaugural message. These included opposition to compulsory military service or conscription; and favored the exemption of incomes less than $5000 per annum from taxation. Although members argued strenuously against these doctrines on the ground that they were calculated to stir up class hatred and to render the nation defenseless in time of war, the resolution was put through both houses. This action in requiring legislators, as a test of "loyalty to the governor" to vote for distasteful proposals, helped bring about revolt two months later.

Early in March legislative business was so far advanced that Speaker Dahlberg and other legislative leaders prophesied that final adjournment would take place not later than May 15. This prediction was based partly on the fact that the work of framing the appropriation bills had been greatly expedited by the preparation of a complete state budget under the direction of Omar H. Wright, director of finance under Governor Lowden, before the session began; and partly on the

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expectation that the bills included in the legislative program of the state administration would be promptly introduced and acted upon. Instead, the organization leaders delayed the introduction of most of their important measures until May or June, and in the meantime the legislature did little more than mark time. Gradually the impression gained ground that the presentation of those measures was being intentionally delayed until the closing days of the session, seemingly for the purpose of preventing some of them from receiving adequate consideration. Action on many other bills was also delayed apparently in order that members who desired their passage might be forced to support the administration measures. Even the great omnibus appropriation bill, carrying appropriations of more than $40,000,000 for the ordinary and contingent expenses of the state government, was not introduced until June 8, obviously with a view to preventing proper scrutiny of its multitude of items. So that instead of adjourning early in May with its calendars cleared, as had been predicted, the general assembly found itself in June facing the worst jam in the legislative history of the state.

Even with almost continuous work day and night during its closing week the legislature was physically unable to give proper consideration to measures of importance to all the people of the state. The extent of this legislative congestion is indicated by the fact that on June 18, its last legislative day, the general assembly passed more than 200 bills, grinding out legislation without consideration in a continuous succession of roll-calls. Of the 361 bills which passed both houses during the entire session, 315 were given final passage during its last 72 hours. In bringing about this situation, which tended strongly to defeat the purposes for which legislative sessions are held, the state administration and its allies were guilty of a most serious offense against the public welfare.

Two weeks before the end of the session the Lundin-Thompson-Small combination launched an intensive campaign to bring about the enactment of four measures which were the principal remaining features of their program. All of these had been introduced late in the session. They were:

1. The tax commission bill (Senate Bill 472) amending the 1919 act regarding the assessment of property so as to give the state tax commission complete control over all local assessors and full authority to re-assess property, such re-assessment not to be subject to revision by boards of review. It also increased the membership of the tax commission from three to five.

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This bill was bitterly opposed on the ground that the proposed power of reassessment was liable to gross abuse as a political weapon; and that the proposed increase in the number of the commission was merely for the purpose of creating high salaried jobs for the state administration to dispense.

2. Mayor Thompson's Chicago traction measure (House Bill 816) providing for the creation of transportation district in contiguous territory wholly within one county, to be directed by a board of elective trustees, vested with authority to acquire street railways by purchase, lease or condemnation and to operate them. The bill expressly limited the rate of fare to five cents, unless another rate should be authorized by a popular vote.

This measure was widely regarded as an extremely doubtful experiment in legislation, presented for the purpose of enabling Mayor Thompson to go through the motions of fulfilling his campaign promise that he would bring about "people's ownership" of the Chicago car lines. It was pointed out that municipal operation of street railways under such tutelage would be likely to lead to utilization of the thousands of street railway employees as an active political force for the purpose of strengthening the machine's control of Chicago and of the state.

3. Governor Small's pet measure (Senate Bill 531) to amend the Civil Service Act so as to remove nearly 2000 state employees, including all employees of the department of public works and buildings and the department of agriculture, from the protection of that law. Friends of the governor who were spokesmen for this bill made no secret of the fact that it was intended as a death-blow to the merit system in the state service. In a special message urging support of the bill Governor Small himself attacked the state civil service system as impracticable.

4. The prohibition commissioner bill (Senate Bill 500) creating a prohibition enforcement department apart from the attorney-general's office. Enactment of the bill would have allowed the governor to appoint a state prohibition commissioner, two deputy commissioners and twenty-five investigators, all of which positions were expressly exempted from the civil service law. This bill was attacked as a spoils proposition, by which the state administration aimed to gain extensive new patronage and to control the expenditure of a large appropriation for enforcing the prohibition law.

About June 6 Mayor Thompson arrived in Springfield accompanied by Lundin and by Dr. John Dill Robertson, health commissioner of Chicago. Their coming was ostentatiously heralded, and in coöperation

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with the governor they began a systematic canvass of the members of the house and senate for the purpose of passing their favored measures, making their headquarters in the governor's office and in the speaker's room. The mayor and his chief political associates called in the legislators one by one and sought to line them up for the bills above mentioned. At the same time every other available influence was brought to bear upon the doubtful members of both branches. State officials appointed by the governor and their office employees became feverishly active, and lobbying was carried on with such persistence that it interfered seriously with legislative work and became a constant nuisance. Time and again members of the house called the attention of the speaker to the fact that prominent aides of the governor were openly violating the rules by lobbying on the floor while the house was in session. Even when the business of the house was stopped in order that they might be driven from the floor the jobholding lobbyists lost little time in returning to invite ejection again.

Reports became prevalent that state patronage was being freely promised in the effort to win votes and that members were being given to understand that the fate of their measures depended upon whether they "went along" with the administration program.

The four administration measures were given the right-of-way in both the house and senate and were rapidly advanced. The anti-civil service bill, introduced by Senator Wheeler on June 7, was passed by the senate a week later. Its consideration on second reading in the house on June 16 precipitated one of the most tense and stormy scenes ever witnessed at Springfield.

Representative John A. MacNeil of Olney, a Democratic member of high standing, took the floor and angrily related how he had been offered a favorable decision in a case then pending before the public utilities commission, through a well-known state employee whom he named, if he would vote for the tax commission and anti-civil service bills. Mr. MacNeil's indignant and dramatic speech was listened to with the closest attention by every member of the house, several of whom, including Representatives Snell, Searcy, Barbour and Kauffman, related somewhat similar experiences in support of Mr. Mac Neil's charge that improper and unlawful methods were being used to pass those bills. The better element in the house was deeply impressed by these statements, and a motion to strike out the enacting clause of the anti-civil service bill was barely defeated by a vote of 72 to 70.

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The Legislative Voters League of Illinois, which reports periodically on the record of each legislator, considered that the state administration's assault on the civil service system and the methods used to pass the bill constituted a challenge to the decent citizenship of the state. It therefore issued a warning statement on June 17, signed by its executive officers, which it placed in the hands of each member.

When the anti-civil service bill was called for passage late on the night of June 18, Representative Holaday of Danville, the administration floor leader, attacked the Legislative Voters League on the ground that its statement had been issued with a view to "dominating" the general assembly. This attack was answered effectively by Representative Castle of Barrington. Both the state administration and its Cook County allies exerted themselves desperately to pass the bill but it was decisively defeated, receiving only 66 votes on the roll-call, ten less than the required constitutional majority.

At Governor Small's request Representative MacNeil put his charges in writing and the governor sent a special message to the legislature before the vote was taken in the house on the anti-civil service bill or on the tax commission bill, disavowing any responsibility for attempts to influence votes by unlawful means and promising a full investigation. At the same time the resignation was announced of the state employee named by Representative MacNeil and other members.

On the day following the MacNeil expose the tax commission bill, which had been passed by the senate on June 8, was called up on third reading in the house, after the Democratic members of the house revenue committee had secured an unfavorable report. Representative Holaday moved non-concurrence in the committee report and Representative Baker offered a substitute motion that the house concur in the report of the committee. On a roll-call Mr. Baker's motion was carried by a vote of 99 to 45, and the bill was killed.

The lengthy and complex Chicago traction bill, which had been introduced on May 18 and had been reported favorably by the house committee on public utilities and transportation on the same day, easily passed the house on June 9 by a vote of 87 to 31, but when it was called up for passage in the senate on June 18 its supporters could muster only 22 votes for it, four less than the constitutional majority required to pass a bill in that body. Eighteen senators voted against the bill and seven were recorded as "present." The prohibition commissioner bill was also defeated in the senate on June 17, by a vote of 29 to 15. Immediately following the defeat of these principal

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administration measures Governor Small announced that he would call a special session of the general assembly in November to reconsider the transportation district and tax commission bills.

As Governor Small made no public report on his investigation of the charges preferred by Representative MacNeil and others, and as the state employee whose name was mentioned in those charges was given official promotion with an increase in salary by the governor soon after the legislature adjourned, the Legislative Voters League on July 7 called the above-mentioned charges to the attention of Attorney-General Brundage, as the chief law officer of the State, with the suggestion that they be presented to the July grand jury of Sangamon County for full investigation.

Early in July that grand jury returned indictments at Springfield against Governor Small and Lieutenant Governor Fred E. Sterling, charging embezzlement and conspiracy to defraud the state of interest-earnings on state moneys which came into their hands while serving as state treasurer, which office both men had held. Investigation of this sensational matter so occupied the grand jury's time that it was unable to take up the MacNeil charges.

Among the measures enacted during the session which had the backing of the organization were the following: Public Utilities—This act nominally repeals the public utility law of 1919 and abolishes the public utility commission appointed by Governor Lowden, but re-enacts most of the old statute and changes the name of the board to the Illinois commerce commission; it increases the membership of the commission from five to seven and authorizes the appointment of eight assistant commissioners; it has "home rule" features under which a municipality desiring to regulate its local utilities may take over such regulation, if such action is approved on a referendum vote initiated by a petition signed by twenty-five per cent of the number voting at the last city election. This so-called "home rule" feature is weakened by a provision that a public utility may appeal to the state commission from an order of the city council. The bill expressly provides that officers and employees of the Illinois commerce commission (about 150 in number) shall not be included in the classified civil service of the state.

Sanitary District Salary Raise—This measure increases annual salaries of the trustees of the Sanitary District of Chicago from $5000 to $7500; vests the election of the president in the board instead of the people; and requires the sanitary district to use some other effective method of sewage treatment besides dilution.

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State Highways—This act establishes a system of state highways and gives the department of public works and buildings full control of road construction and maintenance; and expressly exempts about 450 employees from the operation of the state civil service law.

Primary Law—This changes the date of the primaries for the nomination of candidates for county, state and legislative offices from September to April, supposedly for factional advantage.

Tax Rates Increased—By this measure authority is granted for increasing the tax rates of the city of Chicago, the county of Cook, the Sanitary District of Chicago, the Forest Preserve District, the park districts and for educational purposes. By reason of these changes it is estimated that taxes in Chicago will be forty per cent higher next year.

State Salary Increases—Raises in salary were given to state officers and employees, including nineteen whose offices were created by the state Administrative Code and who hold office, under that act, for a definite term of four years. A suit has been filed to test the validity of this measure, on the ground that it violates the constitutional prohibition against increasing or diminishing the salary of a public officer during the term for which he was appointed.

Administration bills that failed of enactment included the following:

A bill to empower the Chicago board of education to sell school lands without obtaining the sanction of the city council. This attempt to abolish a reasonable safeguard against possible private sale of enormously valuable school properties aroused such a storm of public protest that the bill, after having passed the house without due consideration, was killed in the senate committee on education.

A bill which provided for the appointment by the governor of a health commissioner for each of the 102 counties of the state, each health commissioner to receive a salary equal to that paid to the state's attorney of the county. This bill was regarded as one of the most objectionable patronage schemes of the session. It would have afforded the means of vastly strengthening the organization throughout the state and was especially championed by Health Commissioner Robertson of Chicago. It passed the senate, but died in the house committee.

Additional legislation placed on the statute books during the session includes the following:

The Soldier's Bonus act authorizes a bond issue of $55,000,000 to provide compensation at the rate of fifty cents a day for residents of Illinois who served honorably with the military and naval forces of

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the United States for at least two months during the World War, prior to November 11, 1918, said compensation not to exceed $300; the proposed bond issue to be submitted to a referendum vote in November, 1922.

An enabling act for comprehensive zoning in cities and incorporated towns revises the law of 1919, provides that no zoning ordinance shall be passed until a report is made by a zoning commission appointed by the mayor with approval of the city council, and provides for a board of appeals to hear complaints and recommend changes in zoning provisions.

The balance of the 1919 appropriation for expenses of the constitutional convention, amounting to $180,000, was reappropriated. The school distributive fund was increased from $6,000,000 to $8,000 000 per annum. The University of Illinois appropriation was increased from $2,500,000 per year to $4,462,500 per year.

An educational commission was created, with an appropriation of $25,000, for the purpose of standardizing and unifying the educational system of the state, to investigate inequalities in taxation for school purposes, the comparative needs of elementary and higher education, the functions of the normal schools, and the practicability of placing the higher state institutions of learning under a single controlling body.

Provision was made for admitting to state charitable institutions the children of service men in indigent circumstances, also for giving such children a high school education at state expense.

An act requiring that not less than one hour of each school week be devoted to the study of the principles of representative government; this requirement to apply to the seventh and eighth grammar grades and to the high school grades in all schools supported wholly or in part by public funds.

Laws governing election contests were amended so as to provide a method for contesting the result of the vote on a bond issue or other proposition in cities, towns and villages; and also on a constitutional amendment or other public measure submitted to the voters of the entire state. Women were placed on the same basis with men as to registration and method of voting.

A joint commission composed of members of both houses was authorized to continue the inquiry into the causes of excessive costs of building in Chicago, begun by a joint committee headed by Senator Dailey which was appointed early in the session and which accomplished highly important results, including the indictment of a large number of persons for alleged connection with conspiracies in restraint of trade.

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The commission was given an appropriation of $50,000 to carry on its work.

Four bills were passed to ameliorate conditions imposed on renters of dwellings and apartments by the housing shortage.

A deep waterway commission was authorized, with an appropriation of $20,000, to investigate the practicability of a proposed water route to connect the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean, by way of the St. Lawrence River.

A commission was created, with an appropriation of $25,000, to act with a similar body representing the state of Indiana and with United States engineers to investigate the feasibility of creating an interstate harbor near Wolf Lake and Lake Michigan.

The city of Chicago or the sanitary district was authorized to construct a deep-water harbor in Lake Calumet.

The proceeds of a $20,000,000 bond issue, formerly voted for construction of Illinois waterway, was re-appropriated.

Sums aggregating about $66,000,000 were voted for road construction purposes, including $30,000,000 derived from bond issue, re-appropriated.

A commission was authorized to standardize the salaries of state employees and given an appropriation of $25,000.

A commission was authorized to investigate methods and conditions of mining in the state with especial reference to the safety of life and conservation of coal deposits; appropriation of $7,000.

Inheritance tax-rates were doubled.

The prohibition enforcement law was greatly strengthened and made to conform to the act of Congress.

Acts in relation to pensions for teachers, policemen and other public employees were revised. The most important of these rehabilitates the Chicago police pension fund, as recommended by the state pension commission.

The secretary of state and other elective state officers were required to turn all moneys collected by them into the state treasury within thirty days instead of quarterly, as heretofore.

Provision was made by law for the payment of additional mileage to members of the general assembly elected in 1922 and thereafter.

Cities and villages of 5000 or less population were authorized to adopt the city manager form of government.

Chicago aldermen elected in 1920 for a two-year term were authorized to hold office for an additional year until the 1923 election.

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Important measures that failed during the session included the state police bill, which was bitterly opposed by labor unions; a bill to place the election of mayor of Chicago on a non-partisan basis; proposals to require a referendum on bond issues of the Sanitary District of Chicago and the forest preserve district; several bills presented by labor organizations, including one limiting the working day of women in industry to eight hours, as recommended by Governor Lowden in his last biennial message; and one to fix a minimum wage for women workers. A bill to shorten the ballot by eliminating the names of presidential electors was vetoed by the governor on the ground that the plan had been adopted in only two other states and that its validity was doubtful.

Aside from matters incidental to the crush of legislation near the close of the session, the business of the house was conducted with tolerable efficiency. Speaker Dahlberg, while obedient generally to the wishes of the organization leaders, showed independence at times and was fair in his rulings. He kept close track of legislation and used the power of his office to kill a number of bad measures.

The events of the session, however, emphasized the great need for changing the rules of the house so that the speaker will have less autocratic power and will be required to call bills substantially in the order in which they appear upon the calendar. It is equally evident that the rules of the senate should be changed so as to decrease the number of committees, as each senator is now on so many committees that committee work in the senate is largely farcical. The senate rules should also require the keeping of records of committee roll calls, as is done in the house.

A valuable development in the house was the formation, on the initiative of Representative Castle, of a group of about forty members, who met weekly at dinner throughout the session to discuss pending bills. Partisanship and factionalism were strictly tabooed at those meetings. Besides giving members a better knowledge of proposed legislation these meetings proved to be highly beneficial in promoting closer acquaintance and more effective coöperation.

Appropriations to meet state expenses for the biennium beginning July 1, 1921, total $79,368,267, as compared with $62,109,030 appropriated at the 1919 session. This increase of $17,259,247 is more than 27 per cent, the largest percentage of biennial increase in the recent history of the state.

SHELBY M. SINGLETON.

Chicago.

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NEWS AND NOTES

Personal and Miscellaneous

EDITED BY FREDERIC A. OGG

University of Wisconsin

The committee in charge of the program for the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association at Pittsburgh, December 27–29, has prepared the following tentative program: two sessions will deal with present problems of state government, including nominations and primary elections, and the reorganization of state administration; a third session will be devoted to present problems of the national government, including the question of centralization versus decentralization, and the question of ministerial responsibility versus the separation of powers; a fourth session will discuss the conditions on which the United States should enter a world organization for the maintenance of peace; a fifth session will be given to pending Far Eastern questions; and the sixth session will deal with Latin American questions. In addition to the joint session with the American Economic Association at which the presidential addresses will be given, a second joint session may be arranged to discuss questions of common interest, such as taxation problems, the economic interpretation of the fourteenth amendment, or international aspects of the tariff problem. Three round-table conferences are planned, one to discuss the report of the committee on the teaching of civics in high schools, and the other two to consider problems of college teaching, with special reference to constitutional law and international law.

In accordance with a resolution adopted during the last annual meeting, and with the approval of the executive council, the program committee has planned to have but one principal paper at each session, with the object both of concentrating attention upon questions of present political importance and of making possible the expression of views by a much larger number of the members of the association. It is desired that the principal paper be presented in spoken form and that the speaker arrange to have several other persons follow his address with a discussion of certain phases of the subject specially assigned to

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them. Following this prearranged discussion, which may be regarded as a sort of committee report upon the subject, the question will be open for general discussion from the floor. The committee hopes that by this means a more active interest may be developed in the several sessions, and that at the same time the members of the association may be drawn more closely together by informal exchange of views. Obviously the success of the plan will depend in large part upon the coöperation of a large number of the members of the associaton in the discussion of questions which have been selected as being in the center of public thought at the present moment.

Mr. Edward Porritt, an English journalist long resident in America, and author of several notable books in the field of political science, died on October 8. Mr. Porritt was a vice-president of the American Political Science Association in 1918 and 1919.

Professor James W. Garner of the University of Illinois has been appointed to the Tagore professorship of law at the University of Calcutta, for the year 1922–23, for a course of lectures on the development of international law in the nineteenth century.

Dr. Blaine F. Moore, professor of political science at the University of Kansas, was employed during the summer as an expert by the United States tariff commission. Professor Moore's work pertained to problems of foreign tariffs.

Professor Edward S. Corwin, of Princeton University, has returned from a half-year of travel and research in England and on the continent.

Baron S. A. Korff has accepted a professorship of political science in the Foreign Service School of Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. He will give courses on modern European history, Russian history, science of government, and history of diplomatic usages and procedure.

After a year spent with the bureau of efficiency in Washington, Professor Victor J. West has returned to his position at Stanford University.

Professor Robert Leigh, formerly of Reed College, has taken charge of the undergraduate work in government in Barnard College.

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Dr. Ralph S. Boots, of Columbia University, has been appointed assistant professor of municipal government at the University of Nebraska. Miss Luella Gettys has been appointed instructor in government at the same institution.

Professor Robert C. Brooks, of Swarthmore College, gave two courses in government at the summer session of Cornell University.

Mr. Malbone W. Graham has been appointed instructor in political science at the University of Missouri.

Professor Henry Jones Ford has resumed teaching at Princeton University. Dr. William S. Carpenter has been promoted to an assistant professorship of history and politics, and Mr. Kenneth Brown, a graduate of the Harvard Law School, has been made an instructor, in the same institution.

Dr. William Anderson and Dr. Quincy Wright have been promoted to the rank of associate professor at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Wright has been granted leave of absence for the autumn quarter to work in the naval intelligence office at Washington during the conference on the limitation of armaments. Mr. Forrest R. Black has been appointed instructor in political science for the year, and will give courses in place of Professor Quigley, who is in the Far East on leave of absence. Mr. Morris B. Lambie has been appointed secretary of the municipal reference bureau and assistant professor in the department of political science, where he will offer courses in public administration.

After a year spent in the Orient studying contemporary political conditions and problems, Dr. Sudhindra Bose has returned to the University of Iowa and has resumed his work as lecturer in oriental politics.

Mr. Magnus Nodtvedt has been appointed instructor in political science at the University of Iowa. Other recent appointments in political science at this institution are: Mr. Jacob Van Ek, Miss Mildred Sharp, and Miss Florence Fisher, graduate assistants.

Professor Raymond G. Gettell, of Amherst College, is conducting the graduate seminar in international relations at Clark University during

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the absence of Professor George H. Blakeslee, who is engaged at Washington in the work of the conference on the limitation of armaments.

Mr. John A. Tillema and Mr. Earle W. Ketcham have been appointed as assistants in political science at the University of Illinois.

Professor John A. Fairlie, of the University of Illinois, was engaged during the summer at the Institute of Government Research at Washington, D. C., on a study of the financial administration of the United States.

John Bassett Moore, for twenty years professor of international law and diplomacy at Columbia University, was chosen by the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations in September to be one of the eleven members of the international court of justice. Professor Moore has had a long and varied career in the public service. He was a law clerk in the department of state in 1885, assistant secretary of state from 1886 to 1891, assistant secretary of state in 1898, secretary and counsel of the Spanish-American peace commission in 1898, and counselor of the state department in 1914. He has been a member of the permanent court at The Hague since 1914 and is vice chairman of the international high commission organized at the Pan-American financial conference in 1915. The remaining members of the court are Viscount Robert B. Finlay, of Great Britain; Charles André Weiss, of France; Dionisio Anzilotti, of Italy; Rafael Altamira y Gravea, of Spain; Senator Ruy Barbosa, of Brazil; Antonio de Bustamente, of Cuba; Max Huber, of Switzerland; B. C. J. Loder, of the Netherlands; Didrik Galtrup Gjedde Nyholm, Denmark; and Yoruzo Oda, Japan. The court will sit at The Hague, and it is hoped that it can be organized early in 1922.

Professor Thomas H. Reed, of the University of California, after teaching in the summer session at Columbia, has gone to Europe, where he will spend his sabbatical year in the study of political conditions, mainly in France and England. His courses in municipal government are being given by Mr. Paul Eliel, prominent in the civic life of San Francisco. The political science department has been strengthened by the addition of Professor F. J. Teggart, who will give courses in theory and social institutions; Samuel C. May, who comes from Dartmouth as assistant professor of public administration, and who is

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spending the first half year abroad; Dr. F. E. Hinckley, of the school of jurisprudence, who is lecturing on Far Eastern relations; and F. M. Russell, who comes from Stanford as lecturer and gives course in international coöperation. During the first half-year F. W. Hirst, the English economist, lectures on certain features of parliamentary life in the United Kingdom. President Barrows conducts a seminar in international relations and gives a course in comparative government. In view of the fact that the department contemplates a steady expansion of interest in foreign relations, a bureau devoted to that field, under the direction of Dr. A. W. Mah, is accumulating materials for research.

At an election held on August 2, the voters of Missouri by a large majority declared for a constitutional convention. The governor will issue a call for the election of delegates to the convention, and the election will probably be held in January, 1922. The convention will meet, on a date to be fixed by the governor, within six months of the date of election of delegates.

A regional conference on town and county administration was held at Chapel Hill, N. C., September 19–21, under the auspices of the University of North Carolina and the National Municipal League, with the coöperation of other North Carolina organizations. In addition to the general meetings, special sessions dealt with problems of municipal finance, municipal administration, county administration and town and county.

The annual meeting of the Academy of Political Science, held at the Hotel Astor, New York, on November 4 and 5, was devoted to the subject of constructive experiments in industrial coöperation between employers and employees. The speakers included many representatives of important industrial establishments and of national and state labor bureaus and boards.

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BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY W. B. MUNRO

Harvard University

International Law and the World War. By JAMES WILFORD GARNER. (New York: Longmans, Greene and Company. 1920. 2 vols.)

Two principal tasks confront the writer of such a work as this, namely to collect as much material as possible illustrating the interpretation and application of the law of warfare on land and sea and the rights and duties of neutrals, and to arrange it systematically for inspection by the student. Both of those tasks have been performed with great success by Professor Garner. As a result we have a monumental study of international legal history from 1914 to 1918.

There are certain materials which are not to be found in these volumes. The bulk of the German material is missing, mainly because it was inaccessible at the time. There are also materials on the Allied side, especially dating in 1917 and 1918, which were not available. Much of this deficiency might be made good now; but much will still be inaccessible for years to come.

It would not have been wise, however, to have waited until all the records were available before attempting the work. It will be comparatively easy to compile such a treatise in 1950—and comparatively useless. It is a courageous and serviceable thing to undertake the work now, in face of the difficulties of the situation, and when a verdict may have some force.

Much has been made of the statement in the preface that the lack of materials from the German side is comparatively unimportant. It should be noted that this remark was made after a failure to obtain the German materials, not as an excuse for not trying to obtain them. The extensive use made of such German materials as were available makes this clear.

Much has also been made of the author's very obvious pro-Ally bias. This accusation comes from two sources—from those with an

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opposite bias, and from the legalists who assume that it is possible and pretend that it is desirable to adjudge national actions entirely by clear and fixed rules of law. When the legalist and the pro-German are one, the result is terrific. Yet it must be said over and over again that in the field of public law, especially the law of war as it stood in 1914, there is so much disagreement as to technical standards of conduct that judgments must be based largely on equity and reason. It means that the difficulty and danger of attempting to judge are greater—and Professor Garner, like Phillipson in 1915, has fallen into what seem clearly to be errors of judgment—but it does not mean that the task should be abandoned or postponed or restricted to purely legal topics.

In arranging his materials Professor Garner has been still more successful. The whole of the law of war and neutrality is reviewed in orderly detail. Not content with amassing the vast amount of data from the wide fields of the diplomacy, legislation, administration, and military operations of the war, the author has provided a very useful historical introduction for each topic, summarizing the law as it stood in 1914, and giving copious citations to the standard authorities before launching into a review of the interpretation and application of the law during the war.

There are several errors in these introductory passages. Unneutral service is not distinctly treated at all, the origin and purpose of the doctrine of continuous voyage is not accurately described (Sec. 502), and there are errors of law in the chapter on blockades—such as a reference to the "admitted right of a belligerent to cut off the over-seas commerce of the enemy." These are probably due to the haste with which the author was compelled to work out the subject.

When all this is said, however, the fact remains that the work is a vast mine of materials and a remarkably complete outline of the field. Only one who has, like the reviewer, used the work extensively in daily class instruction can realize the completeness of the treatment embodied in the thousand pages of these two volumes. The author will doubtless desire in later editions to revise certain judgments, supply certain additional materials, and, in general, clear up many confused passages in the text. All the more will the work become the accepted treatise on international law during the World War.

PITMAN B. POTTER.

University of Wisconsin.

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The Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815–1914. By J. H. CLAPHAM. (Cambridge University Press. 1921. Pp. xi, 420.)

Professor Clapham's present work is an outgrowth of the chapters written for the Cambridge Modern History. It is designed to furnish a substantial survey of the economic transformations of the nineteenth century with especial reference to the needs of university students, and the interests of these, as of many other readers, will be fully satisfied.

Such studies as we have had bear no direct comparison with the present work. No other writer has attempted as much, and none have succeeded as well even in the restricted fields chosen. Only those who have endeavored to collect material on the industrial history of France and Germany for the first half of the nineteenth century will appreciate adequately the full measure of Professor Clapham's achievement. His text is well proportioned despite wide differences in the accessibility of materials; his judgments are sound and free from the doctrinaire elements that disfigure much writing on the period; he shows a remarkable range of genuine sympathy, treating with absolute equality of interest and appreciation the entire list of topics: agriculture, industry, transport, commercial policy, and labor.

High costs of book making have resulted in the elimination of maps of all kinds, and, though we can sympathize with author and publisher, the absence of maps leaves us with regrets at many points. The description of the various agricultural frontiers is very hard to follow without a shaded outline map.

The problem of bibliographical references, too, was settled in a fashion that is not without inconvenience to the reader who wishes to follow out the suggestions of the text. It is undoubtedly superfluous to use footnotes for each detail as is customary in a monograph, but carefully selected references covering the ground of particular chapters are of the greatest value. There are some footnotes, and some general references are given in the preface. The reader is urged to consult the bibliographies in the Cambridge Modern History and in Conrad's *Handwörterbuch* for further detail. Many authors do no more for a reader, but when the author has shown such critical power in the text it is to be regretted that he did not render the further service of a brief but critical bibliography. A comprehensive survey cannot be an end in itself, it fulfills its purposes most fully when it creates a desire to go beyond. The guidance of further research and study is in this sense the highest

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function of a book of this character; the better the book, the more important this final service becomes. The author can do much for the average reader and for the growth of scholarship by communicating not only his finished judgments but also his critical reactions to the best literature on the subject at the time of writing. Scholarship is cumulative; growth is stimulated most readily, and progress to the ultimate goal is most direct when the reader is given an opportunity of following the author through the controversial problems of the subject. Several instances of the value of such helps have already come to the attention of the writer, but it is not easy to present the detail of these cases within the compass of the review.

We have been told by Sombart that Germany became a great industrial nation by sheer force of the will to power; Veblen has told us that Germany became great through an unusual racial instinct for imitation; much interpretation of recent European development is based upon the industrial dependence upon coal and iron. Professor Clapham puts forward no simple formula of interpretation, but the writer does not know of any judgment of these matters that can be ranked with Professor Clapham's in its careful discrimination of the relative importance of the political and physical factors involved. The territory of France was not suited to extreme industrialization, especially after the losses of the border provinces; but Professor Clapham feels that more might have been accomplished if the political history of France had been less troubled and the attention of her statesmen less distracted. The influence of the defeat of 1871 is sympathetically appreciated. The relations between economic and political factors in the development of Germany are sketched with clear and sober judgment, notably in respect to the influence of tariff policy upon industry and agriculture.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

Boston University.

The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France: A Study in the History of Social Politics. By PARKER T. MOON. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. xiv, 473.)

The first four words might well have been omitted from the title of Professor Moon's volume. Except for a section in the first chapter, the labor problem in France is described only incidentally to the treatment of the development of the Social Catholic movement and theories.

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Social Catholicism represents the endeavors of the French Catholics to adjust modern society to two new facts of the nineteenth century, the industrial revolution and the democratic revolution. Up to 1892, the Catholics who denounced economic liberalism for causing social injustice also repudiated political liberalism. The intervention of Leo XIII, urging all French Catholics to cease anti-Republican agitation, led to a greater emphasis on their social program; the Dreyfus affair brought the conviction that the Catholic religion in France was menaced by the Waldeck-Rousseau anti-clerical *bloc* of Moderates, Radicals, and Socialists. Hence the resulting need for a constructive politico-social program and a fighting organization of the *Action Libérale Populaire*. The party got its Social Catholic character from Count Albert de Mun, organizer of the Catholic workingmen's clubs, advocate of labor legislation, social insurance, and Catholic guilds. The Social Catholics have since extended their organization and elaborated their program of social reconstruction and constitutional reform.

Professor Moon has succeeded in giving impartial treatment to highly controversial material. By giving considerable space to the critics of the Popular Liberal Party, to the dissident groups among the French Catholics, and to other social reconstruction programs, he has put the reader in a position to judge for himself the real nature and significance of the movement and its theories. The reader may not agree that "the Social Catholic movement may be regarded as a force comparable in magnitude and in power to international Socialism, or Syndicalism, or to the coöperative movement," (p. vii) and he may not find the Popular Liberal Party "quite as interesting, in point of political theory and social doctrine, as the Socialist and Syndicalist movements in France." (p. x.)

When so much material is given the reader to permit him to form his own judgment, it is perhaps ungrateful to ask for more. The reviewer misses a discussion of the extent to which the Social Catholic program, "a synthesis of the leading ideas that have been put forward by each of the opposing schools of social reform," represents the result of the interchange of opinions among all schools, rather than the original thoughts of the Catholics. By restricting his treatment to Catholic thinkers, Professor Moon gives rise to the impression that the Social Catholic theories are more original than the reviewer believes them to be. Moreover, there is too little emphasis on that characteristic of the Social Catholic program which differentiates it from those of all other schools, —the insistence on authorative determination of the aims and methods

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of social reform by the interpretation put on Christian principles by the clerical hierarchy. However much some points of the program may find acceptance, this most important characteristic is repellent to the modern spirit.

R. S. MERIAM.

Harvard Univeristy.

Allied Shipping Control. An Experiment in International Administration. By J. A. SALTER. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. 354.)

After reading this book, which is one of the volumes published under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on the economic and social history of the world war, the reviewer feels that he is in little danger of overestimating its value to those interested in current international problems. It is the work of a man with a broad philosophy of international well being, balanced however, by common sense well fortified by experience. The book brings gifts to the economist who wants to know the effect of substituting public control for private competition; to the strategist who wishes to estimate the relative importance of sea power and land power, of war against the enemy's economic life and against his military forces; to the international lawyer who desires, as he ought to, a more intimate acquaintance with the means of controlling neutral and enemy commerce required for conducting effective warfare against the enemy's economic life; and especially for the internationalist, who, desiring a diminution of war and an increase of international coöperation, wants to know why many apparently direct roads to these desiderata are rightly considered futile by practical men and how real progress can be made.

The author discusses in detail the development of British and Allied control of shipping with reflections upon the necessity brought by the war for a continually increasing public control of shipping and through shipping of practically all commodities. At first national, this control became more and more international, until finally the effective seat of power was in the Interallied Maritime Transport Council. This "hot house development of international coöperation, normally a delicate plant of slow and precarious growth" (p. 243) throws important light upon the problem of international organization in time of peace. The author is convinced that international administration in matters of political importance, can not be effectively conducted by organs

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separated from national governments. He recommends effort toward a coöperation of responsible heads of national departments in advisory committees, backed by a continuous organization of administrative experts of the various governments (p. 261). International administration, he thinks, must permeate and influence national administrations, not attempt to coerce or ignore them.

The adoption of this principle by the League of Nations augurs well for its success in the opinion of the author. It is rightly "a great effort of decentralization," not a super-government (p. 255). The book is clearly written and replete with statistical tables and diagrams. Though much of it is necessarily of a technical nature, on a few occasions, as in describing the effects of submarine warfare and the predicament of the allies in 1918, the style rises to dramatic intensity (pp. 117, 157).

QUINCY WRIGHT.

University of Minnesota.

War Government of the British Dominions. By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. xvi, 354.)

This volume is one of the series planned by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to cover the economic and social history of the World War. The editors are fortunate in securing Professor Keith to write the present volume. Although his chair at the University of Edinburgh is that of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, he has to his credit a long list of writings on the constitutional problems of the British Empire. The admiring critic can only wonder when Professor Keith gets the time to work at the Sanskrit in which he is a great authority, for his writings on the politics of the British Empire show an amazing range and accuracy of erudition. He quotes from the debates in all the legislatures of the British dominions; he cites not merely out of the way pamphlets, but also daily newspapers issued in widely separated parts of the empire. Truly he is one of the remarkable scholars of our time.

In thirteen chapters this volume discusses the framework of the British Empire when war broke out, the slow realization of the need for new machinery of coöperation, the creation of the Imperial War Cabinet, a cabinet of the governments of the chief British states, the history of the political, economic, and military activities of the dominions during

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the war, the treaty of peace and the status of the representatives of the dominions as signatories of the treaty, and, last of all, the effect of the war upon the relations of the various self-governing British states.

When the war broke out such a British state as Canada governed itself in all important particulars, but the Governor-General sent from Britain was the medium of communication between the two governments. Canada considered itself a free nation within the British Empire, but its status as such was not specifically recognized. As the war went on uncertainties were cleared up. Canada and the other British dominions insisted on putting the Governor-General and the colonial office in the background, and the Canadian Prime Minister now communicates with the British Prime Minister as a colleague on equal terms. Carrying out this idea of nationhood and demanding recognition of it by the world, Canada signed the peace treaty exactly as France and Great Britain signed it.

This story is told fully by Professor Keith, but as he points out it is not the whole story. These various British states, each of them claiming to be a free nation, are yet under one sovereign and under one legislature with ultimate legal authority over every part of the British Empire. The Constitution of Canada is delegated to the people of Canada by the sovereign authority of the Parliament of Great Britain. Great Britain alone still has the power to declare war, and when she is at war the whole British Empire is technically at war. There is not merely a legal but a spiritual unity of interest in the British Empire. On great questions its people are certain to stand together, and it is not easy to get foreign nations, such as the United States, to agree that the British Empire may claim in international affairs the weight of half a dozen states, while at the same time they really serve the one interest of a great empire. Many anomalies there are, and the only solvent will be time and experience. One thing, however, is clear as a result of the war: such dominions as Canada and Australia will henceforth take an active and effective part in directing the future policy of the British Empire.

On one point it may be wise to dwell. The charge has been made that Great Britain held back and let the dominions do more than their share in the war. Professor Keith points out that never, even in the hour of direst need, did Great Britain make any demand on the dominions, and that by no act of hers was any kind of compulsion put on anyone outside Great Britain. She recruited as serving troops 27.28 per cent of her male population, and her casualties were 10.91 per cent.

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The proportions for Canada were 13.48 per cent recruited, and 6.04 per cent of casualties, and for Australia 13.43 and 8.5 per cent respectively: no one claims that Canada and Australia did not do their duty; it is fair to show that in respect to both men and money the strain on Great Britain was much heavier.

Professor Keith is so careful a writer that we may accept his statements as being as accurate as existing information permits. He has given a lucid account not only of government during the war but of constitutional changes made quietly but inevitably, and so far-reaching that not for many years will their full significance become apparent. The British peoples and especially those of Canada are deeply interested in hoping that these changes will be studied in the United States, and that they will meet with sympathetic recognition.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

University of Toronto.

Constitutional History of England. By GEORGE BURTON ADAMS. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1921. Pp. 518.)

The contributions which Professor Adams has made to the interpretation of English constitutional history are known to all scholars in that field. Happily, he has not neglected to bring together the fruits of his learning in a book adapted to, and written for, the less mature student. Such a book, indeed, came from his pen three years ago, under the title *Outline Sketch of English Constitutional History*. A marvel of condensation, this little volume found wide usefulness. The author, however, has rightly judged that a book on the same lines, but two or three times as large, would meet still other needs; and the volume here under review—which is a freshly written book, although it incorporates some parts of the earlier one—is the very welcome result.

The treatment of the subject is chronological, and the entire stretch is covered from pre-Saxon times to the close of the Great War. Careful allotment of space continues necessary. But by assuming a knowledge both of political history and of the system of government in our own time, the author has found it possible to tell the story of constitutional development in a comprehensive, and in places even a detailed, manner. The object has been to "make the continuous growth of the constitution from generation to generation as clear as possible;" and questions of what to include and what to omit have been decided solely with this end in view. No serious fault can be found with the decisions made.

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Among subjects which seem to the reviewer to have been dealt with particularly well are the Norman contributions to English institutions, the early history of Parliament, the significance of the Bill of Rights, the rise of the cabinet, and the changes affecting the relations between the electorate, Parliament, and the cabinet. On the other hand, the relation between political thought and constitutional growth seems somewhat under-emphasized, as does also the significance of the expansion of governmental functions in recent generations.

Exception may be taken, here and there, to the author's opinions on specific matters. For example, the margin between the parliamentary electorate after the reform act of 1884 and universal suffrage hardly seems "of comparatively small importance," considering that under the law mentioned it came about that one adult male in every four was debarred from voting. And the fact has somehow been overlooked that the local government board was merged into the ministry of health in 1919. But not much fault can be found on these lines. In general, facts are presented with exceptional accuracy, and the judgments based on them are sane, cautious, and convincing.

Bibliographical lists are supplied, but are very brief. Probably brevity is desirable, in view of the book's purpose. But there are some doubtful omissions, as, for example, Moneypenny and Buckle's *Life of Disraeli* and the *Letters of Queen Victoria*.

FREDERIC A. OGG.

Univeristy of Wisconsin.

England in Transition. 1789–1832. A Study of Movements. By WILLIAM LAW MATHIESON. (London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 285.)

Queen Victoria. By LYTTON STRACHEY. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1921. Pp. 434.)

For his "study of movements" Dr. Mathieson has not attempted to add, through original research, to the material already available in printed form in the histories, the biographies, and the monographs on single phases of the British developments of the momentous years between the beginning of the French Revolution and the Reform Act. His object has not been to add to the information already available in regard to the many progressive movements and agitations of this period. He does not attempt to reinterpret the movements as they have been presented by such writers as the Hammonds, Jephson,

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Graham Wallas, Butler and Trevelyan. His aim has been to correlate the various movements of the forty-three years under review, and to show them as simply different phases of the general forward march of the nation under the influence of the philosophical ideas which on the Continent of Europe brought about the French Revolution.

While selecting the French Revolution as his starting point, he makes it clear that he does not consider the English movement towards democracy as being due to the great events in France. The movement had already begun in England, and was native to England. It was stimulated by the French Revolution only in so far as the Revolution made more easily possible the questioning and the new evaluation of institutions and traditions which had stood in the way of progress. Even before 1789 there were clearly discernible movements for social reform—against drunkenness and loose marriage relations—for popular education, for prison reform, against the slave trade, and for the betterment of the condition of the poor. All these movements were quickened and enlarged in scope after the outbreak in France; and Dr. Mathieson, instead of confining himself to one phase of the subject—to the movement for parliamentary reform, for the abolition of the slave trade, for the freedom of the press, for the delivery of the workingmen from the slavery imposed upon them under the conspiracy laws, for the betterment of child labor conditions, for penal reform, for church reform, legal reform, or reform of the land-laws—takes all these movements and in fact covers almost exhaustively the various aspects under which the intellectual and humanitarian spirit of the age manifested itself, and sets himself to demonstrate their close kinship. In the short space of 280 pages he gives the reader a picture of the England of the eighteenth century, and of its rapid transformation into England of the nineteenth century, a transformation which affected every class, but most of all the workers, the poor, and the human waste that war, the factory era and the land enclosures had caused.

It would be helpful to the reader if Dr. Mathieson had given a brief bibliography as a guide to further study of the various phases of the period. As it is, one has to search the footnotes for his sources and authorities, and these footnotes are not even included in the index. The book can never take the place of the longer and fuller treatises on the various movements here included. It does not attempt to do so. Its great value lies in the fact that it correlates these movements and checks the tendency to lay undue stress on one factor to the neglect of the many other factors which brought about the great change from aristocratic to democratic England.

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Nine readers out of ten will be attracted to Mr. Strachey's book by the glimpses contained in it of royalty at close range, and by the interesting story of the greatest queen of modern times, or indeed of any times, seen with all her limitations, and littlenesses, as well as with her prestige, her wealth, her glory and her happiness. But the tenth reader will find much more than story-book interest in Mr. Strachey's pages. He will see the working out of opposing forces which resulted in the development of the British Constitution.

Queen Victoria's reign was a formative period for British democracy. When she came to the throne one great step had been taken in the Reform Act of 1832; but the whole government was still aristocratic. The king had lost power, but the people had not yet gained it. In Prince Albert and his adviser Baron Stockmar there came into the struggle two able and persistent men who were determined that the crown should be reinvested with real authority, and for over twenty years there was going on—almost unknown to the nation—this constant trial of strength between sovereign and ministers. Albert was never popular in England; but it is safe to say that his unpopularity would have been enormously increased had the people at large realized what he was trying to do to their country.

Mr. Strachey makes it appear almost an accident that the Prince did not succeed; but he acknowledges that Albert neither understood nor liked British methods and the British spirit. The German prince wanted a machine. He had to deal with a living organism, and the same mistake that was made by the Germans at the beginning of the Great War, was made by Albert when he failed to realize that there is a force in living matter that can subdue the most perfect of mechanisms. How much this living force of British institutions had to encounter during the years of Prince Albert's activity is exceedingly well told in Mr. Strachey's pages, in spite of the fact that he adds very little new material to what was already available in biographies or histories.

A. G. PORRITT.

Hartford, Conn.

Men and Manner in Parliament. By Sir HENRY LUCY. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1921. Pp. 259.)

Among the many good scribes who have sat in the press gallery of the House of Commons few have achieved greater renown for intelligent reporting than the veteran journalist Sir Henry Lucy. Mr. Lucy began

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his work at St. Stephen's about fifty years ago and continued to discuss the doings of Parliament till his retirement in 1916. Soon after the election of 1874 he prepared a series of articles for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in which he recorded his impressions of the British legislature in a genial and somewhat unconventional manner. The articles were widely read and were published later in book form under the title *Men and Manner in Parliament*. Mr. Lucy points out and described the orators and the talkers, the party leaders and the independent members, the Irish and those who sat in silence. In his closing chapter he has something to say about those who did not survive the election. In all about two hundred men are passed in review and their strong and weak points, their eccentricities, and their behavior on the floor of the house are indicated and discussed in a manner that seems to be quite free from partisanship.

During the past year the work has been republished, but so far as the reviewer is able to determine Mr. Lucy has revised neither his text nor his critical estimates. Students of history who are interested in the great parliamentary battles of the seventies will find Mr. Lucy's papers both entertaining and informing. For the political scientist the work has little value except as it illustrates the daily routine of the House of Commons.

L. M. Larson.

University of Illinois.

Great Britain in the Latest Age. From Laisser Faire to State Control. By A. S. Tuberville and F. A. Howe. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1921. Pp. 342.)

This book has its origin in a series of lectures delivered by the authors to British troops in Germany in 1919 under the army education scheme. Because of the interest in recent and contemporary history these lectures form the basis of the book, designed as it is for use in classes in adult education as well as in secondary and continuation schools. The aim is to provide "a brief introduction to the study of the general, and not solely the political, history of Great Britain in the Latest Age" (broadly, the nineteenth century).

There are obvious difficulties in presenting in a single volume to readers with no great historical background the significant developments of the last century. The authors have adopted a combination of methods to assist them over these difficulties. The first three chapters are en-

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titled "Landmarks in the History of the Nineteenth Century," with the subtitles "Laisser Faire (to 1851)," "Splendid Isolation (1851–1901)," and "L'Entente Cordiale." Following these chapters of summary and review come eleven topical chapters in which particular elements of growth are treated in more detail. The topics treated thus are: steam power and machinery, modern transport, farming, political theory, capital and labor, poverty and unemployment, imperial expansion, commercial foreign policy, constitutional development, educational reform, and intellectual achievement.

In the first three chapters which aim to give a coherent story fo British development during the period, the authors have only fair success. The account of the movements leading to the Reform Act of 1832, with its description of England after Waterloo and the work of such leaders as Francis Place, is an excellent succinct statement. The later treatment of the period from 1851 to recent times remains too much, however, a brief statement of successive happenings, and the limitations of space or arrangement of material have resulted in some lack of unity to the narrative which is only superficially due to shifts in British policy.

The chapters which discuss special topics in greater detail achieve a larger measure of success. Those on the significance and implications of the Industrial Revolution are excellent, and the gradual development of policy from laisser faire and persecution of combinations of labor to state regulation of the plane of competition and trade union organization is admirably traced. The chapter on political theory is largely a brief summary of the more important ideas of certain outstanding theorists from Burke to the Guild Socialists, and is too sketchy to orient properly the development of political ideas in relation to the larger currents of social changes. The discussion of constitutional development includes an excellent description of the growth in importance of administration as compared with legislation which is generally neglected in brief treatments of this kind, and concludes with a summary of the proposals of the recent committee on the machinery of government, of which Lord Haldane was chairman.

Great Britain in the Latest Age is especially useful in its treatment of the industrial and commercial developments of the last century with their social and political implications. The authors have been successful in their stated purpose of presenting a "general, and not solely, the political, history." Those chapters devoted to industrial and commercial change are therefore better balanced and more interesting in

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arrangement and presentation. There is a good index, but the volume would be more useful to the people for whom it is designed if there were maps showing British development during the last century, and statistical tables covering industrial and commercial growth so much emphasized in the text.

JOHN M. GAUS.

Amherst College.

Liberalism and Industry: Towards a Better Social Order. By RAMSAY MUIR. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. 208.)

English Liberalism, whose basic policy under the leadership of Gladstone and Bright was the liberation of intercourse and the non-intervention of the state in industrial matters, abandoned the philosophy of laissez-faire in the first decade of the present century, and under the pressure of the Labor Party from without and Lloyd George and Churchill from within became the party of piece-meal social reform. It emerged from the war divided in leadership and in organization, somewhat discredited popularly, and with many of its finest spirits deserting it for the Labor Party.

Professor Muir, in this book, attempts to rehabilitate Liberalism by working out an industrial policy which will be based fundamentally upon the belief in the supreme value of individual freedom, but which will at the same time remove most of the injustices in the social order that are provocative of justified discontent. He rejects both socialism and syndicalism as the ideal; the first because the necessary industrial and governmental bureaucracy would not only be inefficient but also unduly restrictive of individual freedom; the second because it would put the consuming public at the mercy of the workers in the key industries. He holds that the system of individual enterprise, with its profit motive and interest upon invested capital, is fundamentally sound because of the stimulus it affords to working and saving, but he also declares that the system must be purified of its abuses, if it is to endure.

This policy of basic reform really falls into three parts: (1) The guarded nationalization of the railways and the mines. (2) The co-operation of labor and capital both in individual plants and in each industry as a whole, much along the lines of the works-councils plan of Giolitti. (3) A taxation program to include: (a) heavy inheritance taxes, (b) income taxes running up to 75 per cent, (c) taxes upon

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especially profitable concerns which have securely established themselves, and (d) the appropriation by the community of the unearned increment in land.

If the Liberal Party were sincerely to adopt this policy (which is doubtful, when the power of the large industrial and capitalistic interests in the party is considered), it and the Labor Party would have enough in common to ally them on an internal program for at least a decade and perhaps for a generation.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

University of Chicago.

The Case of Korea: A Collection of the Evidence on the Japanese Domination of Korea, and on the Development of the Korean Independence Movement. By HENRY CHUNG. With Foreword by Hon. Selden P. Spencer. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1921. Pp. 365.)

The nature of this book is correctly stated in the title. Dr. Chung, who is an American-educated Korean, has brought together a great amount of evidence, of uneven value, to support the case of the Korean political leaders against Japan. Because of his industry in gathering this material, and in properly citing it, as well as because of his personal knowledge of the inside operations of the national movement, the book is of much immediate interest and of some permanent value.

In his foreword, Senator Spencer truly states: "Civilization demands the truth—the whole truth and nothing but the truth." But this book cannot be said to measure up to that standard. The whole truth does not consist in omitting every explanatory element, and Dr. Chung, in spite of his scholarly training, has presented a piece of special pleading—but we could hardly expect a Korean spokesman to do otherwise. His description of the massacre of twenty-nine Koreans at Chai-amm-ni is, to be sure, taken from a newspaper. But it fails to mention that the reprisals were due to the murder of two Japanese policemen in the village. So an account of the Japanese relations with Korea, which fails to mention the attacks upon the Japanese legation in Seoul in 1882 and 1884, and the murder of Prince Ito by a Korean in 1909, does not give the reader a fair chance to form a sound judgment.

Americans cannot help sympathizing with the desire of the Korean people to regain the independence which their ignorant and corrupt rulers and officials sacrificed. But Americans also should not expect

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the Japanese, who have had to learn how to deal with foreign peoples only in the last fifty years, to measure up to the standards set by Britain, who has been conquering and colonizing and ruling for the past three hundred. There were certainly many reprehensible things done in Korea by police and soliders during the independence agitation in 1919. But a wider knowledge of the way in which subject peoples have been handled in the rest of the world, not only in Asia but in Europe and America, would temper some of the unqualified denunciation of Japan.

PAYSON J. TREAT.

Stanford University.

The Republic of Liberia. By R. C. F. MAUGHAM. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. 299.)

This volume, in keeping with its subtitle, is more of a treatise on Liberia from a layman's point of view than a scientific study. It is a general description of the country with its history, commerce, agriculture, flora, fauna and present methods of administration. When the student of social sciences has read it, therefore, he realizes that there is still room in this field for a large contribution. The increasing interest of the civilized world in African affairs has given rise to the demand for authoritative works on the life and history of many parts of Africa. That the author has not produced a work measuring up to this standard is evident when, according to his own prefatory statement, he depended for the historical facts altogether upon the works of D'Ollone, Jore, Delafosse, Johnston, and Starr; and for facts and illustrations of the fauna, flora, and life of the natives upon several others.

The value of the book, however, is apparent, in that, although it is not scientific, it is written sympathetically—a departure from most works on Liberia. The author's predecessors have found in Liberia little worthy of commendation. Most of their works have been devoted to a comparison of the civilization of the Liberians with that of Europe or America, showing how different the Africans are from the whites and figuring out exactly what the unfortunate blacks must do and how long they will have to toil before they can hope to develop a civilization like that of the Caucasian. Maugham himself develops his story by such comparison, although he does meet here and there the requirement for treating these problems scientifically. He undertook to invade this field without preoccupation of mind. He realized that in the life of these

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people there is something worth while and he endeavored to find more of it.

Although he did not find the rung which Liberia had reached a high one, he became convinced that the way before is plain and unmistakable, although the native for some time to come must be guided by foreigners like those recently established in that country by the Wilson administration to appropriate to their use in the form of high salaries a large portion of the loan recently advanced the Liberian government. Mr. Maugham considers it a good omen, moreover, that the new President, the Honorable C. D. B. King, has committed himself to "a definite policy so far as economic and industrial development is concerned, and has cordially encouraged representatives of international capital, who have acquired important interests in Liberia, with considerable plans for development work on a large scale." While no farsighted person will consider the investment of foreign capital an unfavorable omen, it is evident that outlays of such a large order will inevitably result in the subjection of the natives of Liberia to foreign masters intent upon the development of an economic system which labor is today trying to destroy in the so-called more advanced parts of the world. This book in spite of itself, therefore, idealizes capitalistic control as a desirable situation for Liberia.

As the facts set forth in this work are generally well known, the book cannot be considered a contribution; but certain aspects of the life and history of the country have been given all but original treatment. The author has told an old story interestingly, said so many things which the man from without will want to know, that until the more scientifically prepared investigators undertake the task, this work will be regarded as a valuable book on Liberia. After reading it the traveler will feel that he has seen the fauna, the flora and the natives; the pioneer that he has an excellent estimate of the economic possibilities of a once despised but now attractive country.

C. G. Woodson.

Howard University.

Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 which Framed the Constitution of the United States of America. Reported by James Madison. International Edition. Edited by Gaillard Hunt and James Brown Scott. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. xcvii, 731.)

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The United States of America: A Study in International Organization. By JAMES BROWN SCOTT. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. xix, 605.)

These two substantial volumes are issued under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. There have been three previous printings of Madison's *Debates*, all of them reasonably accurate. The present edition does not claim to embody any considerable improvement in this direction although it has had such careful collation with the original manuscript as to preclude every possible chance of error. Differences between this original and Madison's later transcript are indicated in the footnotes. The introduction contains many interesting documents including the proceedings of the Annapolis convention and the credentials of all the delegates appointed by the several states to attend the convention of 1787. The index, which covers thirty pages, is invaluable.

The *United States* is an even more noteworthy volume. It is a study of the various steps leading to the union of the states, the colonial background, the establishment of the state constitutions, the federal convention (which the author calls "An International Conference"), and the Constitution as a document. Several chapters deal with the federal judiciary, its organization, powers and development. The greater portion of the book, in fact, is a commentary on the Constitution of the United States insofar as its provisions relate to the several commonwealths as such.

The author's comprehensive scholarship and thorough legal training have enabled him to do all this in a way which will impress the student as being neither too technical on the one hand or too general on the other. Quotations from official documents and from Supreme Court decisions are inserted freely, yet the book is far from being a mere compilation. Take, for example, the chapter which deals with "Judicial Powers and their Relation to Law and Equity." It would be difficult to combine comment with quotation to better advantage than the author has done in this instance. The appendix of more than one hundred pages gives the text of many documents which students of American government will be glad to have within arm's reach. These include all the plans for a union prior to 1787 and all the chief memoranda (Pinckney's plan, Randolph's propositions, the New Jersey plan, etc.) which were laid before the convention at Philadelphia. Dr. Scott has given us a very useful volume, worthy of a place on any man's bookshelf.

W. B. M.

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The United States: An Experiment in Democracy. By CARL BECKER. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1920. Pp. 333.)

Professor Becker undertakes in this volume to describe the origin and development of the principles of democracy in the United States giving special emphasis to such principles as are regarded peculiar to American politics and economics. The first few chapters trace the beginnings of democracy in America, the series of chapters following is devoted to the relation of these principles of democracy to certain typical American conditions and problems such as free land, slavery, immigration, education, and equality. A large part of the volume is comprised of a rehearsal of well known historical facts interspersed by occasional suggestive observations. For example, parts of the second and third chapters are given to an account of the aristocratic methods and practices which largely controlled the colonial governments. In this respect a story is repeated which forms a part of most recent works on general American history or American government. An account of similarly well-known historical facts constitutes a large portion of the volume. Somewhat more emphasis is accorded to economic and social factors in the formulation of the typical American principles of democracy than is customary in general treatises.

The author has attempted in his discussion of certain topics to combine history and government. This attempt has resulted in a superficial treatment which cannot be of much use either from the standpoint of history or of government. In the effort to make this combination and to relate the discussion to modern political problems, the author often passes rather abruptly from colonial times and the political ideas then prevalent to the conditions which prevail in the United States at the present time. Warning is given in the concluding chapter against the dangers of absolutism whether of the few or of the many, on the theory that democracy is unsafe when based on the dominance of any class or economic group. As in a number of similar instances the facts of history are brought in review to help form a judgment on a modern political problem.

An occasional use of personal incidents and a free and easy style render the chapters of the volume readable. Since the work appears to have been prepared for the general reader and not for the specialist, a semi-popular form of presentation is followed. The underlying principles

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of American democracy, so far as that term can be accurately described, are well stated in language that any citizen who can read clear English can understand.

C. G. HAINES.

University of Texas.

Local Government in the United States. By HERMAN G. JAMES, Professor of Government in the University of Texas. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1921. Pp. xv, 482.)

During the last decade numerous books have been written on the subject of city government. With the exception, however, of Professor John A. Fairlie's treatise on *Local Government in Counties, Towns and Villages*, originally published in 1906, there has been no recent comprehensive work on rural local government in this country. Professor James' book which emphasizes the county and its subdivisions meets, therefore, a real need among those interested in local institutions. The book should also attract attention because of its attempt to cover in a single volume all the units of local government, rural as well as urban.

Professor James commences his work with a sketch of the history and present status of local government in England and France, together with a brief account of the system of central control in these countries. In order to obtain the necessary background for our own system of local government the author next devoted a chapter to the origin and development of local institutions in the United States. The remainder of the book deals with the existing structure, functions, problems and recent tendencies of counties, townships, towns, villages, cities and other units of local government in this country.

The county is considered in two chapters which give a clear and full description of its organization and of what it actually does. In this part of the book county financial administration is condemned from nearly every point of view, and the belief is expressed that the remedy for this condition must be found in a wider application of state administrative control over such matters as accounting, indebtedness and the assessment of property for taxation. Professor James also brings out the general inefficiency of the average American county in the performance of such important functions as judicial administration, which has fallen into disrepute because of the popular election of county judges and prosecuting attorneys, the administration of penal institutions, which is regarded as the most uniformly unsatisfactory phase of county

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government, poor relief and other services. Over some of these activities, as well as in the field of educational administration, public health and highways, the author notes that there has been a gradual tendency for the state to exercise an increasing amount of supervsion and in some cases direct control.

Having considered the county as the basic unit of local government, the author next considers the rural and semi-urban areas smaller than the county. Following this, two chapters are devoted to the organization and functions of city government, the chapter on city activities being largely adapted from the author's work on *Municipal Functions* published in 1917. It is impossible to cover adequately such a broad field as city government in the space of one hundred and twenty-four pages, but Professor James' chapters furnish an outline of the subject which can be supplemented by students and others desirous of going further into the matter by reference to any one of the more complete treatises.

Under the chapter heading "Developments and Tendencies of the Past Decade" the author traces the most important tendencies in local government since 1910, with emphasis on the newer movements in county government. In this connection home rule for counties, state control, and county and city consolidation are discussed. The developments in city government during the same period are described under similar headings but much less space is given to them.

In conclusion, the author proposes the elimination of the township and other smaller non-urban areas because they lead to needless duplication and are ineffective and unnecessary. Theoretically he would also favor the abolition of the county and the transfer of its activities to the state or to new districts created by the state, on the ground that the county is not a natural or at present a convenient unit for the proper performance of most of its functions in the sense that the municipality is a natural unit of local government. Practically, however, the author regards this as too radical a step and suggests just the opposite, that the powers of the county be enlarged so as to develop a community spirit which will arouse the interest of its citizens and attract competent men to its offices. Professor James does not state, however, in what specific ways he would widen the powers of the county. Having conferred larger powers on the county, he recommends that such a development be accompanied by a corresponding increase in the efficiency of administrative machinery so as to bring at least the more populous counties up to the level of the best of our city governments. In the field of munic-

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ipal government the new problems that arise grow largely out of those already in existence and do not seem to call for such fundamental readjustment as is indicated for rural local government.

The book is well arranged for text book purposes with a complete table of contents which outlines the subject matter in clear form, there is a list of the more important references at the beginning of each chapter and a concise summary at the end of each.

A. C. HANFORD.

Harvard University.

American Police Systems. By RAYMOND B. FOSDICK. (New York: The Century Company. 1920. Pp. 408. Publications of the Bureau of Social Hygiene.)

American Police Administration. A Handbook on Police Organization and Methods of Administration in American Cities. By ELMER D. GRAPER. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. 357.)

Mr. Fosdick's volume is unquestionably the best of the few books which have been published on American municipal policing. It fills much the same place for American police departments as the author's *European Police Systems* does in the European field. It is not merely a volume of historical review and criticism, for it contains many constructive suggestions which all police officials will do well to study carefully.

The book first sketches the broader aspects of the American problem, then gives the historical background of American policing and takes up in detail police control, organization, leadership, recruiting, training, detective work and crime prevention. Each of these topics is treated in a manner which shows careful study in many cities instead of the more common intensive study of one city with occasional references to others. The dismal failure which most American cities have made and are making of police administration is set forth unsparingly, yet fairly. Despite the gloomy picture which the facts present, the author does not feel the situation is hopeless, especially when the real progress, which has been made, is recognized.

The fundamental importance of well-trained, courageous patrolmen is recognized by the author in his chapter on the rank and file, but, just as in his book, *European Police Systems,* one is apt to lose sight of this

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fact while reading the other chapters—much as a layman loses sight of the fundamental part played by infantry in a modern army, while reading of the more spectacular functions of tanks, airplanes and generals. Aside from this point of emphasis, which from the nature of the subject it would be hard to counteract, the conclusions which the reader will draw from this book should be sound and helpful.

The literary style would be improved greatly in force and ease if much more of the supporting data were thrown into footnotes rather than incorporated in the text.

Students of municipal government will find this book of great assistance in a field of administration, the technical nature and importance of which are too often unappreciated.

Mr. Graper's book, the latest addition to the short list on American municipal police systems, is the most readable and convenient of them all. It is particularly suitable for those who desire to obtain a general knowledge of the principal methods of that important branch of administration without going over a mass of details. By generalizing as to the practice on any given point and liberal use of footnotes, the author has kept up the continuity of his text very well, considering the subject.

The only chapter which drags seriously is that on arrests, in which a poor attempt is made to present law from the policeman's viewpoint. The author concludes that state control of police is not growing. He is correct as to the old methods of state control, but seems to miss the significance of the rapid growth of effective state constabulary forces in relation to the policing of small communities, particularly as mobile reserves in emergencies and for the development of expert detective services. The discussion on methods of training both uniformed and detective police is well done and covers one of the weakest features of our American police departments. The chapter on the subject of compensation and welfare is much less a mechanical statement of facts than is usually the case and is interesting as it contains the first discussion, in a book of this sort, on the movement to organize labor unions in police departments.

As a whole the book is accurate, but in discussing the police strike in Boston, a bad matter is put in a far worse light than it really was. The number of strikers was actually 1147, instead of 1500, out of a force of about 1800 in all ranks; the city was never under martial law; and although the federal authorities took preliminary measures in order to be ready to intervene, they never were called upon to do so. The

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serious disorder and looting were confined to less than twenty-four hours instead of three days. The conclusions which the author draws from the results of this unfortunate incident, however, seem to be sound.

GEORGE H. MCCAFFREY.

Boston, Mass.

BRIEFER NOTICES

Russia from the American Embassy (Charles Scribner's Sons, pp. ix, 136) by David R. Francis, Ambassador to Russia during the eventful years from 1916 to 1918, stands out as the most authoritative and the least sensational of the books so far published on the subject. This does not mean that the book is lacking in interest, for it is written with a directness and vigor which hold the attention of the reader from beginning to end. The volume is made up largely of Ambassador Francis' dispatches and public letters together with explanations, comments and descriptions of important persons and events which serve to join the whole into a continuous narrative. Vivid pen pictures are given of such men as Kerensky, Lenin, and others with whom the author came into contact in the performance of his official duties. The author is of the opinion that the provisional government under Kerensky showed great weakness in its leniency toward the radical leaders at the time of the so-called July Revolution. In this connection he says: "Had the Provisional Government at this time arraigned the . . . Bolshevik leaders, tried them for treason and executed them, Russia would probably not have been compelled to go through another revolution, would have been spared the reign of terror, and the loss from famine and murder of millions of her sons and daughters" (p. 141). In concluding the account of his experiences and observations, Ambassador Francis expresses the decided belief that armed intervention by the United States and the Allied Powers following the Armistice would have given courage to the majority of the Russian people who were opposed to Bolshevism, and he makes a special plea against the present attitude of those who advocate leaving Russia "to stew in her own juice." In his opinion the United States should take the leadership in saving Russia and preventing the spread of Bolshevism by acting in coöperation with other countries through the League of Nations. The reader leaves the book with a feeling of admiration for the courage and ability with which Ambassador Francis steered his course through rapidly changing waters.

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Perhaps no other book brought out within the last few months has given rise to more discussion in American political circles than *The Mirrors of Washington* (pp. 256) published anonymously by Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons. The author has singled out fourteen American public men and has analyzed the personality of each in a most unconventional and daring manner which in many instances is caustic and in some few almost bitter. Among the men who are "mirrored" are such well-known personages as President Harding, Ex-president Wilson, Secretary of State Hughes, Herbert Hoover, Ex-senator Root and Senators Lodge, Hiram Johnson, Knox, Penrose and Borah, all of whom have had their eye on the presidency or have attained that honor. The general method of attack has been to work out for each of the satiric portrayals a sentence or brief epigram which will sum up what the author regards as the frailties of the individual under consideration. In some cases the choice has been fortunate; in others a somewhat distorted characterization has been given in striving to bring out the sensational. Altogether it is an exceedingly clever piece of work, evidently written by an experienced journalist, and does present some degree of pungent truth in regard to the figures with which it deals, although it can hardly be said to be as well balanced and as true to life as *The Mirrors of Downing Street* of which it is an obvious imitation.

The progress of English democracy during the past third of a century is vividly described by Homer Lawrence Morris in a monograph on *Parliamentary Franchise Reform in England from 1885 to 1918* published as one of the latest of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law (Longmans, Green and Company, pp. 208). Chief consideration is given to the movements for the abolition of plural voting and the extention of parliamentary franchise to women. Over a third of the study is devoted to the Representation of the People Act of 1918 which removed a host of previously existing irregularities, provided a redistribution of seats for England, swept away a complicated maze of obstructive laws, granted suffrage to women and increased the register of parliamentary voters to almost half of the total population.

Ferdinand Schevill of Chicago University has revised his text-book, *A Political History of Modern Europe* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, pp. xiv, 663) which was originally published in 1907. Three new chapters have been added covering the character of European civilization at the beginning of the twentieth century, European diplomatic relations

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from 1871 to 1914, and the facts concerning the war and the peace. Like the older portions of the work these new chapters are written in a clear and lucid manner and are easily assimilated. An interesting feature of the material from the standpoint of the student of political science is the special attention given to political developments. It is regretted, however, that the author has not revised the general bibliography at the end of the volume as there have been at least a few books of importance to the subject which have appeared since 1907.

A very useful volume on *Europe Since 1870* by Professor E. R. Turner of the University of Michigan has been issued by Messrs. Doubleday, Page and Company (pp. 580). This book is based on the second part of the author's *Europe 1789–1920*, but considerable additions have been made because of the opportunity for more detail and some portions are entirely new. The student of political science is impressed particularly by the emphasis upon governmental organization and developments in the different European countries, by the author's impartial attitude toward controversial matters, and by his readable style. As in the case of the earlier work on *Europe 1789–1920* the bibliographies at the end each chapter are most helpful and there are a number of excellent maps.

The Law of the Sea, by George L. Canfield and George W. Dalzell, admiralty lawyers, has been published by D. Appleton and Company. This is the third volume of the series of manuals on training for the merchant marine projected jointly by the United States Shipping Board and the Federal Board for Vocational Education. The book presents the chief facts and principles in regard to the legal relations, rights, duties and obligations of ship owners, operators and seamen and the legal problems connected with the ownership of a vessel from the contract for its construction to sale and salvage. A summary of the navigation laws of the United States, the text of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920, and a table of cases cited in the text greatly enhance the usefulness of the book. This treatise should prove very helpful to owners or masters of vessels as well as to the student who may wish to acquire information concerning the main facts and principles of maritime law without attempting to acquire such a mastery of the subject as is possessed by an admiralty lawyer.

An English edition of *Le Déclin de l'Europe* by A. Demangeon, Professor of Geography at the Sorbonne, has been brought out by Messrs.

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Doubleday, Page and Company under the title of *America and the Race for World Dominion* (pp. xiv, 234). This book as originally published in France has attracted considerable interest on the continent. Professor Demangeon's main theme is that an economic evolution is now in progress, due largely to the war, which will eventually lead to the shifting of leadership and domination in the financial and industrial world from the older countries of Europe to the peoples of America and Japan. "Depopulated and impoverished," questions the author "will Europe be likely to hold the economic ties that have been the foundation of her wealth? Will she continue to be the great bank furnishing the capital to new lands? . . . . . Will the equipment that transports from sea to sea the men and the products of the earth remain in her hands?" (p. xii) The forecasts and conclusions are based upon a very careful study and analysis of comparative economic data concerning the finances, sea power, and industry of the various countries, but the reader can scarcely refrain from feeling that the author has painted the picture darker than it really is.

The World in Revolt: A Psychological Study of Our Times (The Macmillan Company, pp. 256) by Dr. Gustave Le Bon, the well-known psychologist, and translated by Bernard Miall, is another work by a French writer which has been made easily accessible to American readers. The sub-title describes more accurately the character of this work, the main theme of which is found in the author's introductory statement that: "Psychological forces, in which moral activities are included, ... rule over all the departments of national life and determine the destinies of people" (p. 3). Dr. Le Bon then proceeds to explain from a psychological point of view the causes and results of the World War and of the disturbances which have followed in its train, especially in Russia, Germany, and Austria. His conclusion is that "the only effective safeguard that any nation can possess is its social structure. Directly this fabric is shaken as a result of violent happenings, men lose the guiding principles which are needed for the orientation of their thoughts and actions" (p. 255). The individual traits most essential to the maintenance of the social structure and well being of a nation are listed by the author as solidarity, initiative, accuracy and continuity of action—aptitudes of character rather than of intellect.

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In *The Problem of Foreign Policy* (Houghton Mifflin Company, pp. 126) Sir Gilbert Murray has sought to revivify faith in Victorian liberalism through pointing the ideals of that faith by war and post war experience. His attitude toward the Treaty of Versailles is critical but less violent than Keynes. The League he considers the redeeming feature. The British habit of self criticism is apparent in the caustic comments on Lloyd George's post armistice campaign (p. xii). The United States is dealt with amiably but an underlying feeling of European liberals is evidenced by the reference to "the greatest and the least wounded of all the nations" which refuses to join in an organization for peace "but sits aloof in silence, from time to time sharpening her sword" (p. xxviii).

A biography of Cecil Rhodes by Basil Williams has come from the press of Messrs. Henry Holt and Company (353 pp.). After a few rather brief chapters on the early career of Mr. Rhodes the book plunges into the South African environment and stays there to the end. The plans and achievements of the empire-builder are narrated fully and vividly so that the volume is not only the biography of a great imperial figure but a chronicle of South African history during well nigh a quarter of a century. Mr. Williams is an appreciative biographer; but he finds Mr. Rhodes a "faulty hero" in some essentials and the book in consequence is not exactly what one might call a manual of devotion. There is an exhaustive bibliography and useful map.

The Yale University Press is issuing a series of six handsome volumes under the general title How America went to War, by Benedict Crowell and Robert Forrest Wilson. Two of these volumes entitled *The Road to France* were noticed in a previous number of the Review. The third volume in order of publication (but the first in chronological order) is called *The Giant Hand* (191 pp.). It deals with the mobilization and control of American industry and natural resources during the years 1917–18, and particularly with such topics as priority, the war industries board, price fixing, allied purchasing, and the mobilization of commodities (nitrates, dyes, chemicals, etc.). The narrative is fresh and interesting, with no dead-weight of statistics upon it, and plays up in a graphic way the personalities of the men who did the work. The illustrations (and there are nearly a hundred of them) could hardly be better. They drive home the whole story in an effective way.

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E. P. Dutton and Company have published *Out of Their Own Mouths. A Revelation and Indictment of Sovietism*, by Samuel Gompers with the collaboration of William English Walling (pp. xx, 265). This is more an indictment than a revelation of Sovietism. The indictment is intended to destroy whatever remains of one of Soviet Russia's chief political assets, the belief that it is a workingmen's government, and to combat the movement in favor of trade or diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia by overturning the theory that the "anti-labor despotism" is changed in essentials by Lenin's compromises and reforms.

The Economics of Communism with special reference to Russia's Experiment (The Macmillan Company, pp. xvi, 312), by Mr. Leo Pasvolsky, is a dispassionate and systematic account of the soviet economic system and "its fundamental economic dilemna: Communism or Production?" Its excellent arrangement enables the reader to understand readily the complicated subject matter; its calmness in tone and abundant citation of official information bring conviction.

Democracy and the Japanese Government is the subject of a short book by Dr. Hiroshi Sato, published by the Columbia University Bookstore (pp. vi, 97). The author is of the opinion that the institution which more than anything else retards the development of constitutional government in Japan is the "Genro" or elder statesmen, an extra-legal body which has acquired by custom the enormous power to form, advise and overthrow cabinets. The history of the suffrage in Japan and the chapter on municipal government are of particular interest since they give new light on subjects which have hitherto received little attention. The emphasis of the book is on the actual workings of the government, not its organization.

Another study of Japanese government which has recently made its appearance is *The Working Forces in Japanese Politics* by Uichi Iwaski, Professor of Sociology in Kwansai University, published as one of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. (Longmans, Green and Company, pp. 141.) This volume contains a brief account of the political conflicts in Japan from 1867 to 1920, showing the interplay in politics of the various forces such as the elder statesmen, the peers of the upper house, the bureaucrats and the militarists. Each of these has taken its turn in being at the top. In the opinion of the author it is now "the turn of the political parties, in alliance with capital" to control Japanese affairs.

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Some eighteen of President Harding's speeches delivered to various groups of people on different occasions have been gathered together in a book entitled *Our Common Country* edited by Frederick E. Schortemeier (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, pp. 302). Most of the addresses collected here are of a general nature, but some few touch upon political and governmental problems such as those on business and government, the press and the public, conservation and development, social justice, and the federal constitution. Practically all of the speeches that have been chosen make a special plea for the coöperation of every citizen in advancing the interests and welfare of his country.

United States Citizenship, by George Preston Mains (The Abingdon Press, pp. 296), discusses the relations of the citizen to his government with emphasis on the importance of an intelligent and loyal suffrage. Chapter headings such as "The Lineage of Democracy," "Constitutional Citizenship," "National Obligations to Immigrant Citizenship," "The Press" and "Menaces" give some idea of the nature of the work which is written especially for young readers and is rather general and idealistic in character.

The League of Women Voters of Cleveland has brought out a small booklet entitled *Parties, Politics and People* (pp. 118) containing four lectures delivered before the League by Raymond Moley. The lectures endeavor to show the workings of constitutional government through political parties and cover such topics as the history of American political parties, national parties today, local party organizations and training for popular government. The material is presented in a clear and interesting manner and should prove very helpful in classes on citizenship and politics.

The proceedings of the Third National Country Life Conference for 1920 have been published by the University of Chicago Press under the title of *Rural Organization* (pp. vii, 242). Most of the papers included in this volume have to do with the country life movement, rural community organization, country planning and the reports of various committees, but there are some half dozen articles of interest to students of government. These cover such matters as recent legislation facilitating rural community organization and recent tendencies in rural government and legislation.

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Dominion Home Rule in Practice (pp. 63) by A. Berriedale Keith of the University of Edinburgh is one of the most recent titles in "The World of Today" series of booklets on current problems and events published by the Oxford University Press under the general editorship of Victor Gollancz. The book is wholly descriptive in character, explaining in an accurate, concise and interesting manner what self government actually means in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland and outlining the laws and customs which regulate the relations of the dominions to the mother country.

In a small book entitled *Simon Bolívar* (published by the author, Washington, D. C., pp. 233) Guillermo A. Sherwell has traced the career of the great South American liberator. The author's aim as expressed in the introduction is to make the reader understand and appreciate how unusual a man Bolívar was, and he has accomplished his purpose, for the work is an interesting and readable piece of hero worship.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF POLITICAL INTEREST

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

CLARENCE A. BERDAHL

University of Illinois

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC LAW

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